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LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN JONAH

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of
Asbury Theological Seminary

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Theology

by
Barry L. Ross
May 1965

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Herbert Livingston
First Reader
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Second Reader

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank Professor G. Herbert Livingston and Professor Dennis F. Kinlaw for the guidance they both gave me during the course of this study.

I thank Carole Waring for the valuable assistance she gave me in translating the Old Latin text, and Pauline Buck for typing a somewhat difficult manuscript.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

Contemporary view of the date of Jonah. A survey of seven contemporary (1940-present) general introductions to the Old Testament shows that those scholars who are descendants of the Literary Analysis tradition consider the Book of Jonah as post-exilic.¹ Some give this as an established fact with no supporting evidence while others mention the internal linguistic features as showing several "Aramaisms." These "Aramaisms," it is said, are proof of a later date. None of these seven contemporary introductions surveyed list these "Aramaisms."

The basis for the contemporary view. The basis for this contemporary opinion is found in three works from the last

¹Robert H. Pfeiffer (Harvard University), Introduction to the Old Testament (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), p. 589; Aage Bentzen (University of Copenhagen), Introduction to the Old Testament, vol. II (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gads Forlag, 1949), p. 145; H.H. Rowley (University of Manchester), The Growth of the Old Testament (London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1950), p. 114; Bernhard W. Anderson (The Theological School, Drew University), Understanding the Old Testament (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1957), p. 503; George W. Anderson (University of Durham), A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., 1959), p. 153; Norman K. Gottwald (Andover Newton Theological School), A Light to the Nations, An Introduction to the Old Testament (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), pp. 520-524; and Samuel Sandmel (Hebrew Union College), The Hebrew Scriptures (New York: Alfred A. Knoph, 1963), pp. 495-6.

half of the nineteenth century and two from the first two decades of the twentieth. In 1858 Theodore Parker published an enlarged English translation of W. M. L. DeWette's Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures.² This work gives ten words which, it is said, indicate that the book of Jonah is one of the latest of the Old Testament.³ They are not called "Aramaisms," however.

The next scholar to mention this was O. S. Stearns, who in 1888 published his Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament.⁴ He does not list these "Aramaisms" but merely calls them "peculiarities of style (Aramaisms). . . which are deemed of later date."⁵

In 1897 S. R. Driver published An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.⁶ He mentions nine "Aramaisms . . . marks of a later age."⁷ Five of these nine are not mentioned by DeWette.

Then in 1907 Carl H. Cornill published his Introduction

²W. M. L. DeWette, Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures, Vol. II (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1858).

³Ibid., pp. 455-6.

⁴O. S. Stearns, Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament (Boston: Silver, Burdett and Co., 1888).

⁵Ibid., p. 71.

⁶S. R. Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897).

⁷Ibid., p. 322.

to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament.⁸ He lists eight expressions in Jonah which "all point to the latest period of the linguistic development of Hebrew."⁹ He does not call them "Aramaisms." Only one of these eight is not mentioned by either DeWette or Driver.

In 1913 G. B. Gray published A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament.¹⁰ He states that in the Book of Jonah "Aramaisms and late words or forms occur with frequency."¹¹ He then lists eleven verses in which these words or forms appear, but he does not give the words or forms.

In the main, then, the credit for establishing the late date theory of the Book of Jonah, based on the presence of "Aramaisms," falls upon W. M. L. DeWette, S. R. Driver and C. H. Cornill.

⁸Carl H. Cornill, Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament (London: Williams and Norgate, 1907).

⁹Ibid., p. 337.

¹⁰G. B. Gray, A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913).

¹¹Ibid., p. 215.

II. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. The purpose of this study will be to examine, linguistically, the Book of Jonah to determine whether or not a late (post-exilic) date is necessitated by its linguistic features. This objective will be reached (1) by establishing a Hebrew Text for the Book of Jonah through the translation and comparisons of the original texts of the Masoretic Hebrew, the Aramaic Jonathan Targum, the Greek Septuagint and the Coptic (Sahidic) and, (2) by a linguistic study of ten words or expressions given by DeWette, Driver and Cornill as marks of late date. These words fall into four categories: (1) verbs, QR² "to proclaim" (1:2), HSB[✓] "to think, to be minded" (1:4), CS[✓]T "to think" (1:6), STQ[✓] "to be silent" (1:11,12), MNY "to appoint" (2:1; 4:6,7,8) and ML "to labour" (4:10); (2) nouns, sepînāh "a ship" (1:5) and ta'am "a decree" (3:7); (3) a particle, se "of" (1:7,12; 4:10); (4) an expression, ʔēlōhē haššamayim "the God of Heaven" (1:9). This part of the study will also include the noun mallāḥîm "mariners" (1:5), which will appear just before the expression "God of Heaven." W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson add this word to the list of Aramaisms.¹²

Justification of the problem. The writer has been able

¹²W. O. E. Oesterley and Theodore H. Robinson, An Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament (London: S.P. C.K., 1953 [1st published in 1934]), p. 372.

to find only two scholars who have dealt linguistically with these words in Jonah. In 1918 Robert Dick Wilson wrote an article in The Princeton Theological Review entitled "The Authenticity of Jonah."¹³ In this he dealt linguistically with the words, but not as thoroughly as he could have. Since his writing new material has been discovered to shed additional light on the problem.

Gleason L. Archer in his Survey of Old Testament Introduction, published in 1964,¹⁴ has dealt with only three of the words in any way approaching adequacy. Therefore the writer feels a justifiable need to examine this problem as thoroughly as his linguistic training will allow.

Limitations of the problem. This study will not seek to establish the authorship of the Book of Jonah nor the actual date of its writing. It will not deal with the Prayer in chapter two of the Book of Jonah, nor with the miracles of the story.

¹³Robert Dick Wilson, "The Authenticity of Jonah," The Princeton Theological Review, XVI (April 1918), 280-298.

¹⁴Gleason L. Archer, Survey of Old Testament Introduction (Chicago: Moody Press, 1964).

TABLE I

TRANSLITERATION SYMBOLS FOR
THE HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

Consonants.

כ / א'	ט / ט	פ / פ
ב / ב	י / י	צ / צ
ג / ג	כ / כ	ק / ק
ד / ד	ל / ל	ר / ר
ה / ה	מ / מ	ש' / ש'
ו / ו	נ / נ	שׁ / שׁ
ז / ז	ס / ס	ת / ת
ח / ח	ע / ע	

Vowels.

מֶא / הָ	מֶא / הָ	מֶא / הָ	מֶאֶח / הָ
מֶו / וּ	מֶו / וּ	מֶו / וּ	מֶא / אֶ
מֶו / וּ	מֶו / וּ	מֶו / וּ	מֶח / הָ
מֶי / יָ	מֶו / וּ	מֶי / יָ	מֶח / הָ
מֶי / יָ	מֶו / וּ	מֶי / יָ	
מֶי / יָ	מֶי / יָ		
	מֶי / יָ		
	מֶי / יָ		
	מֶי / יָ		

Notes.

1. pataḥ furtimium: rûaḥ/רוּחַ.
2. </ accent when not on the ultima.
3. Where there is implicit or implied doubling, the second letter is in parenthesis.
4. Where pure long vowels are found defectively written in the text they are transliterated as pure long but placed in parenthesis.
5. Where short vowels are written fully in the text they are transliterated as short but placed in parenthesis.

TABLE II

TRANSLITERATION SYMBOLS
FOR THE GREEK

a/α	n/ν
b/β	x/ξ
g/γ	o/ο
d/δ	p/π
e/ε	r/ρ
dz/ζ	s/σ,ς
ē/η	t/τ
th/θ	u/υ
i/ι	ph/φ
k/κ	ch/χ
l/λ	ps/ψ
m/μ	ō/ω

TABLE III

TRANSLITERATION SYMBOLS
FOR THE COPTIC

A/Ⲁ	L/ⲗ	Ph/ϕ
B/Ⲃ	M/ⲙ, ⲙ	Kh/χ
G/Ⲅ	N/Ⲛ	Ps/ψ
D/Ⲍ	Ks/ⲛ	ō/ω
E/Ⲉ	O/ⲟ	Sh/ϣ
Z/Ⲑ	P/ⲡ	F/ϣ
Ē/Ⲛ	R/ⲣ	H/ϥ
Th/Ⲑ	S/ⲥ	J/ⲗ
I/ⲓ	T/ⲧ	G/ⲉ
K/ⲕ	U/ⲩ	Ti/ⲧ

TABLE IV

SIGLIA IN THE APPARATUS AND
FOOTNOTES IN THE TEXTSiglia in the Apparatus.

Jon / Sperber's Aramaic Jonathan Targum.

Jud / Hebrew text from Judean Wadi Murabba'at.

LXX / Rahlfs' Greek Septuagint.

OL / Old Latin.

Sa / Sahidic Coptic.

TM / Kittel's Masoretic Text.

W / Sanders' Greek Washington Manuscript.

Footnote numbers in the text.

A number appearing immediately after a word refers to that preceding word only.

A number appearing immediately before a word refers to that following word and to a phrase following. The end of the phrase is indicated by that same number in brackets, immediately after the last word of the phrase.

A number appearing between two words with a double space before and after it, refers to that space only, not to either word.

I. CHAPTER 1

1:1. way(y)^{ehi} 1^dbar-yhwh [1]
 'el-yônâ ben-'āmittay lē'mōr

1:2. qūm lēk 'el-nînewēh
 hā'ir hagg^{ed}ôlâ ūq^{erā} 2
 'ālēhā^{2a} kî-'āl^{etā} rā'ā^{tām} 3
 lēpānāy

1:3. wayyāqom yônâ librōah
 4^{tarsisā} 5^{millipnēy} yhwh [4]
 wayyēred yā pō wayyimšā' 6^{oniyā}
 6^{bā}a tarsis [5] [6] wayyittēn
 sékārāh wayyēred bāh lābō'
 'immahem 7^{tarsisā} millipnēy
 yhwh [7]

1:1. And the word of the Lord
 came unto Jonah the son of
 Amittai saying,

1:2. Arise, go unto Nineveh
 that great city and proclaim
 against it, for their wicked-
 ness has come up before me.

1:3. But Jonah arose to flee '
 to Tarshish from the presence
 of the Lord, and he went down
 [to] Joppa, and he found a ship
 going to Tarshish. And he gave
 his fare and went down into it
 to go with them to Tarshish

1-[1] Jon: pitgam n^ebū'â min qōdām ywy.

2 Jon: 'itnabê.

2a LXX: ev.

3 LXX: ē kraugē tēs kakios autēs.

4-[4] Jon: l^eyammā' min qōdām d^e'itnabê bišmā'dywy.

5-[5] W: omits ek ... eis tharsis.

6-[6] Jon: d^e'āzlā' l^eyammā'.

7-[7] Jon: b^eyammā' min qōdām d^e'itnabê bišmā' daywy.

1:4. wayhwh hētîl rūah-g^edôlâ
 'el-hayyām way(y)^ehî sa'ar-
 gādôl bayyām w^ehā'ônîyâ
 hišš^ebâ⁸ l^ehiššāpēr.

1:5. wayyîr^eu hammallāhîm
 wayyiz^eqû is 'el-'elōhāyw⁹
 10 wayyātîlû 'et-hakkēlîm
 'āser bā'ônîyâ 'el-hayyām
 l^ehāqēl mē'ālēm weyônâ yārad
 'el-yark^etē hass^epînâ wayyîškab
 wayyērādam.

1:6. wayyiqrah 'ēlāyw rah
 haḥ(h)ōbēl wayyō¹⁰mer lō¹¹ mah-
 (1)l^ekā nirdām qûm q^erā' 'el-

from the presence of the Lord.

1:4. And the Lord hurled a
 great wind into the sea and
 there was a great tempest in
 the sea, and the ship thought
 to be broken.

1:5. And the mariners feared
 and cried out, a man unto
 his god, and they cast the
 vessels which were in the
 ship into the sea to lighten
 it from upon them. Now
 Jonah had gone down into the
 innermost parts of the ship,
 and he was lying down and was
 in heavy sleep.

1:6. And the chief sailor
 came to him and said to him,
 What is this to you, sleeping?

⁸ Jon: bā'āyā ; Fr. b^e, to wish, ask.

⁹ Jon: d^ehaltēh, Fr. dhl, "to fear."

¹⁰ Jon: inserts wahāzō 'ārē lēt b^ehôn s^erōk.

¹¹ Jon: omits.

ʾelōhēka ʾû lay yitʿaššēt
həʾēlōhīm lānū wʾelōʾ noʾbēd.

Arise, call unto your god;
perhaps the God will think
unto us that we shall not
perish.

1:7. wayyōʾmerû ʾiš ʾel-
rēʿēhū lēkū wənappîlâ gôrālôt
wēnēdʿâ bešellemê hārāʿâ
hazzōʾt lānū wayyappîlū gôrālôt
wayyippōl hāggôrāl ʿal-yônâ.

1:7. And they said, a man
unto his companion, Come, let
us cast lots that we may know
on whose account [is] this
evil to us; and they cast lots
and the lot fell upon Jonah.

1:8. wayyōmerû ʾēlāyw haggîdâ-
(n)nāʾ lānū baʾāšer lēmî¹²-
hārāʿâ hazzōʾt lānū¹³ mah-
(m)nēlaʾktēka ūmēʿayin tābōʾ
mâ ʾaršēkā wʾē-mizzeh ʿam
ʾattāh

1:8. And they said unto him,
Pray, tell us for whose cause
[is] this evil to us? What
is your occupation, and from
where do you come? What is
your country, and of what
people are you?

1:9. wayyōʾmer ʾalēhem ¹⁴ʿebēd
y^[14] ʾānōkî wʾet-yhwy ʾēlōhē

1:9. And he said unto them,
A servant of the Lord [am] I,

12 Jon: māʾ.

13 W: omits.

14-^[14] TM: ʿibrî ; Jon: yehūdāʾāh ; LXX, W: doûlos
kuríou êgō; (C. Rabin, ed., Textus, Vol. 1, p. 119, "The
commonest abbreviation for the tetragrammaton seems to have
been a single yodh." I base my textual change here on the
LXX).

haššāmāyin ʾānī yārēʾ ʾāser-
 ʿasā. ʾet-hayyām we ʾet-
 hayyabbāsā

1:10. wayyirʾū hāʾānāsīm
 yirʾā gedōlā wayyōʾmerū ʾēlayw
 mah¹⁵-(z)zōʾt ʾāsītā ¹⁶kī-
 yād^eʾū¹⁷ hāʾānāsīm kī¹⁸-
 millipnē yhw [18] hū hōrēah
 kī higgīd lāhem.

1:11. wayyōʾmerū ʾēlayw mah-
 (n)naʿšeh (l)lāk weyištōq
 hāyyām mēʿālēnū kī hāyyām
 hōlēk wes(ō)ʿēr.

1:12. wayyōʾmer ʾālēm sāʾūnī
 wahātīl(ū)nī ʾel-hāyyām
 weyištōq hāyyām mēʿālēkem kī
 yōdēa ʾānī kī bēšellī hassāʿar
 haggādōl¹⁹ hazzeh ʿālēkem.

and the Lord God of the
 Heavens I fear, who made the
 sea and the dry land.

1:10. And the men feared a
 great fear, and they said unto
 him, What is this you have
 done? For the men knew that
 from the presence of the Lord
 he was fleeing for he had
 told them.

1:11. And they said unto
 him, What shall we do unto you
 that the sea shall be silent
 from us, for the sea walked
 and was raging.

1:12. And he said unto them,
 Take me up and cast me into
 the sea, and the sea shall be
 silent from you for I know
 that on account of me [is]
 this great raging upon you.

15 Sa: ETBE.

16 Sa: inserts NAN.

17 LXX: egnōsan; W: epegnōsan.

18-[18] Jon: min qōdām de ʾitnabē bišmāʾdywy.

19 W: omits article ʾ.

1:13. wayyaht^erû hā^uānāsīm
l^ehāsīm 'el-hayyabbāsā w^elō'
yākōlū kī hāyyām hōlēk
w^es(ō)^cēr 'ālēm.

1:14. wayyiq^er^u 'el-yhwh
wayyō^merū²⁰ 21^uānnā yhwh^[2]
'al-nā' nō^bēdā b^enēpeš hā^uis
hazze^h w^eal-tittēn 'ālēnū dām
nāqī²² kī-'attāhyhwh ka'āšer
hāpāšta 'āsītā.

1:15. wayyis^u 'et-yōnā
way^eṭīl(ū)hū 'el-hayyām
wayya^uamōd mizza^cpō.

1:16. wayyir^eū hā^uānāsīm yir^a
g^edōlā 'et-yhwh wayyiz^bēhū -
zebāh layhwh wayyidd^erū
n^edārīm.

1:13. Nevertheless the men
rowed to cause to return unto
the dry land, but they were
not able for the sea was
walking and raging upon them.

1:14. And they called unto
the Lord and said, Ah now, O
Lord, do not, we pray, let us
perish for the life of this
man, and do not put upon us
innocent blood, for you, O
Lord, that which you have
pleased you have done.

1:15. And they took Jonah and
they cast him into the sea,
and the sea stood from its
raging.

1:16. And the men feared a
great fear [of] the Lord, and
they slaughtered a sacrifice
unto the Lord, and they vowed
vows.

19 W: omits article o.

20 Sa: MPRGÖNT ERON "do not be wroth with us."

21 Sa: omits.

22 Jud: nāqī^u ; OL: iustum.

II. CHAPTER 2

2:1. way(y)^eman yhw^h dāg
 gādōl liblōa^c ʾet-yōnā
 way(y)^ehī yōnā bim^cē haddāg
 23^{ʾe}l(ō)šā yāmim [23] ū^{ʾe}l(ō)šā
 lēlōt.

2:2. wayyitpallēl yōnā ʾel-
 yhw^h ʾēlōhāyw 24^{mimm}e^cē
 haddāgā [24]

2:3. wayyō^ʾmer qārā^ʾtī miššārā^ʾ
 lī²⁵ ʾel-yhw^h 26 wayya^cūnēnī
 mibbēten ^{ʾe}ʾōl²⁷ siwā^c tī^{27a}
 28 sāmā^ctā qōlī.

2:4. wattašlikēnī mēšūlā

2:1. And the Lord appointed
 a great fish to swallow Jonah.
 And Jonah was in the belly of
 the fish three days and three
 nights.

2:2. And Jonah prayed unto
 the Lord his God from the
 belly of the fish,

2:3. And he said, I cried from
 my distress unto the Lord and
 he answered me; from the womb
 of Sheol I cried; you heard
 my voice.

2:4. For you had cast me

23-[23] Sa, OL: omits.

24-[24] Sa: omits.

25 W: omits.

26 LXX: inserts ton theon mou; Sa: inserts
 PANOUTE; OL: inserts d̄m. meum.

27 Jon: t^ehōmā; R,W: ʾadou; OL: inferni.

27a LXX: kraugēs mou; OL: clamoris mei.

28 W: inserts kai.

bilbab yammim²⁹ w^enāhār³⁰
 y^esōbbēnî kol-mišbārēkā³¹
 w^egallēkā³² ‘ālay ‘ābārû.

2:5. wa’ānî ‘āmārtî nigrāštî
 minnēged ‘ēnēkā ‘ak ‘ōsîp
 l^ehabbît ‘el-hēkal qodsēkā.

2:6. ‘āpāpūnî māyim ‘ad-nēpeš
 t^ehōm y^esōbbēnî³³ sūp hābūš
 l^er(ō) ‘sî³³

2:7. l^eqisbē hārîm yārādî
 hā’āreš b^erihēhā ba‘ādî^{33a}
 l^e‘olām wattā‘al³⁴ 35 miššāhat
 hayyay³⁶ yhw̄h ‘ēlōhāy.

[into] the deep, into the
 heart of the seas; and a stream
 encircled me; all you breakers
 and your waves over me passed.

2:5. And I said, I was cast
 out away from your sight, yet
 I will do again to look unto
 your holy temple.

2:6. The waters encompassed
 me unto [my] soul, the depth
 enclosed me, the reeds bound
 about my head.

2:7. To the extremities of
 the mountains I went down; the
 earth, its bars about me
 forever; yet you have brought
 up my life from corruption,

29 Jon, LXX, W, Sa, OL: singular.

30 LXX, W, Sa: plural.

31 Jon: naḥsōlōhî d^eyammā’.

32 Jon: w^egallōhî.

33-³³ LXX, W: ‘ēdu ē kephalē mou; OL: demeavit caput
 meum.

33a OL: omits "me."

34 Sa: EKNAEINE.

35 Jon: inserts qārîb qōdāmāk.

36 Sa: inserts EHRAI SHAROK.

O Lord, my God.

2:8. b^ehit^cattēp^c 'ālay
napšī³⁷ et-yhwh^{37a} zākārtī³⁷
38wattābō³⁸ 'ēlēkā tēpillātī³⁸
39'el-hēkal qodšēkā.

2:8. When my soul fainted
within me, I remembered the
Lord, and my prayer came in
unto you, into your holy
temple.

2:9. me^vsammerim hablē-sāwē^v
hasdām⁴⁰ ya^cāzōbū.

2:9. They who guard vanities
of emptiness, their mercy they
forsake.

2:10. wa^vānī b^eqōl⁴¹ tōdāh
ezb^ehā-(1)lāk^v vāser nādārtī^v
42vāsallēmā⁴² ye^vsū^cātā⁴³ layhwh⁴²

2:10. And I with a voice of
thanksgiving, I will sacrifice
unto you; that which I have
vowed I will pay. Salvation
[is] of the Lord.

2:11. 43awayyo^{43a} mer yhwh^{43a}

2:11. And the Lord spoke unto

37-37 Jon: pūlēhānā'dāywy 'iddakrēt.

37a OL: dīmī mei.

38-38 Sa: MARE PASHLĒL EĪ.

39 W: alion "fruitless" (clearly a mis-copy).

40 Sa: MPEKNA.

41 Jon: inserts btū^veb^ehat; LXX: inserts aineseōs
"praise"; W: inserts dēseōs "prayer"; Sa: inserts NTōBH
"prayer"; OL: inserts laudis "praise".

42-42 Jon: pūr^eqan napšī bišlō qōdam ywy.

43 Sa: EPAOUJĀĪ; W: eis sōtērian mou.

43a-43a OL: ET praeceptum est ceto.

laddāg wayyāqē^ʿ ʿet-yônâ^â
 ʿel-hayyabbâšâ^â

the fish, and it vomited up
 Jonah unto the dry land.

3:1. way(y)^ehî ⁴⁴q^ebar-yhwh ^[44]
 'el-yônâ šēnîṭ lē'mōr

3:2. qūm lēk 'el-nîne^ewēh
 hā(ʿ)îr hagg^edōlâ ⁴⁵uq^erâ'
 'elēhā 'et-haqq^eriâ ^[45] 'āser
 'anōkî d(ô)bēr 'elēkâ.

3:3. wayyāqom yônâ wayyēlek^e
 'el-nîne^ewēh ^{45a}kidbar yhwh
 wēnîne^ewēh hāyetâ 'îr-g^edōlâ
 lē'lōhîm mahālak šelōš^eet
 yāmîm.

3:4. wayyāhel yônâ lābō'
 bā'îr mahālak yôm 'ehād
 wayyiqrâ wayy(ô)'mar ⁴⁶ 'ôr
 'arbā'im ⁴⁷ yôm wēnîne^ewēh
 nehpa^eket.

3:1. And the word of the Lord
 came unto Jonah a second [time]
 saying,

3:2. Arise, go unto Nineveh
 that great city, and proclaim
 against it the proclamation
 which I spoke unto you.

3:3. And Jonah arose and went
 unto Nineveh according to the
 word of the Lord. Now Nineveh
 was a great city unto God, a
 walking journey of three days.

3:4. And Jonah began to enter
 the city a walking journey of
 one day. And He proclaimed
 and said, Yet forty days and
 Nineveh shall be overthrown.

44-^[44] Jon: pitgam nebu'^a min qōdām ywy.

45-^[45] Jon: ū'itnabbê ... nebu'^{ātā}.

45a OL: NINEVEN CIVITATEM. .

46 W: omits.

47 LXX, W: treis; OL: Triduum.

3:5. wayya^uaminû[^] anse[^]
 ninewēh be^ulōhīm⁴⁸ wayyiqre^u-
 sōm wayyilbe^usū šaqqīm
 miggedōlām we^cad qetannām.

3:6. wayyigga^c haddābār
 'el-mēlek ninewēh wayyāqom
 mikkis^o 49 wayya'ābēr 'addartō
 me^cā layw way(y)^ekam šaq
 wayyēseb^c 'al-hā'ēper.

3:7. wayyaz^cēq wayy(^o)^umer
 beninewēh niṭṭā^cam hammēlek
 ūgedōlāyw lē'mōr hā'ādām
 wehabbehēmā habbāqār wehaṣṣōn
 'al-yiṭ^cāmū me^cāmā 'al-yir^cū
 ūmāyim 'al-yištū.

3:8. 50 weyiṭkassū šaqqīm
 hā'ādām wehabbehēmā weyiqre^u
 'el-'ēlōhīm⁵¹ be^chāzqā weyāsubū^u
 'is middarkū hārā^cā ūmin-

3:5. And the people of Nineveh
 believed God and proclaimed a
 fast and put on sackcloth,
 from the great of them, even
 unto the small of them.

3:6. And the word reached
 unto the king of Nineveh, and
 he arose from his throne and
 he put his cloak from him and
 he covered [himself with]
 sackcloth and he sat upon ashes.

3:7. And he made proclamation
 and said in Nineveh from the
 decree of the king and his
 great [ones], saying, Man, nor
 beast, herd nor flock, let them
 not taste anything, let them
 not feed, neither let them
 drink water.

3:8. But let man and beast
 be covered with sackcloth and
 let them cry unto God in
 strength, and let [every] man

48 Jon: be^mmē^erā['] dywy.

49 Jon: inserts malkū^utēh.

50 LXX, W: put entire verse in the aorist; OL: in the past, act accomplished.

51 : 'al-ēlōhīm.

heh(h)āmās ʾāser b^ekppēhem.⁵²

turn from his evil way, and
from the violence which [is]
in their hands.

3:9. mī-yōdēa^c 53 yāšūb^h
w^eniham hāʾēlōhīm w^esāb^h
mehārōn ʾappō w^elō^ʾ n(ō)ʾbēd.

3:9. Who shall know, God may
turn and relent and turn from
the burning of his nose, and,
we shall not perish.

3:10. wayyār^e hāʾēlōhīm ʾet-
ma^cʾsēhem kī-šābū middarkām
hārā^c 54 wayyinnāhem
hāʾēlōhīm ʿal-hārā^c ʾāser-
dibber la^cʾsōt-lāhem w^elō^ʾ
ʿāsā.

3:10. And God saw their
works that they turned from
their evil ways, and God
relented from the evil which
he said to do unto them, and
he did [it] not.

52 LXX, W: insert légontes.

53 Jon: inserts d^e ʾit bīdēh hōbīn.

54 W: ta kaka.

IV. CHAPTER 4

4:1. wayyēra⁵⁵ ʾel-yônā rāʿā
g^edōlā wayyīhar⁵⁶ lō.

4:2. wayyitpallēl ʾel-yhwh
wayyō⁵⁷mar. ʾānnāh yhwh hāʾlō-
zeh d^ebarī ʿad-h^eyōtī ʿal-
ʾdmātī ʿal-kēn qidāmtī librōāh
tarsīsa⁵⁷ kī yādāʿtī kī ʾattā
ʾel-hannūn^{57a} weraḥūm ʾerek
ʾappayim weraḥ-hēsed weniḥam
ʿal-hārāʿā.

4:3. weʿattā yhwh qah-nāʾ
ʾet-naṣī⁵⁷ mimmēnnī kī tōḥ
mōtī mēhayyāy.

4:1. And it was evil unto
Jonah, a great evil, and it
burned to him.

4:2. And he prayed unto the
Lord, and said, I pray, O Lord,
was not this my words when I
was in my country? Therefore,
I was before fleeing to Tarshish,
for I knew that you [are] a
gracious God, and merciful,
long nosed and [of] great
kindness, and relenting upon
evil.

4:3. And now, O Lord, take,
I pray, my life from me, for
it is better my death than my
life.

⁵⁵ LXX, W: ʾelupēthē "grieved"; OL: contristatus
"saddened".

⁵⁶ LXX: sunechuthē "confounded"; W: sunethumēsen
"disheartened"; OL: maestus "sorrowful".

⁵⁷ Jon: l^eyammāʾ.

^{57a} OL: omits "God".

4:4. wayyô⁶mer yhw^h 57^b
hahê⁶tē⁶p hārā⁶ lāk⁵⁸.

4:5. wayyē⁶šē⁶ yōnā⁶ min-
hā⁶ir wayyē⁶šē⁶b miqqē⁶dem
lā⁶ir wayya⁶as⁶ lō⁶ sām⁶ sukkā⁶
wayyē⁶šē⁶b tahtē⁶hā⁶ baššē⁶l 'ad
'āšer yir⁶'eh mah-(y)yihiy⁶
bā⁶ir.

4:6. way(y)^eman yhw^h-⁶ēlōhīm⁶
qīqāyōn wayyā⁶al mē⁶al
l^eyōnā⁵⁹ lih^eyōt sē⁶l 'al-
r(ō)⁶ sō⁶ l^ehaššīl lō⁶ mērā⁶ātō⁶
wayyīsmāh yōnā⁶ 'al-haqqīqāyōn⁶
śimhā⁶ gēdōlā⁶.

4:7. way(y)^eman hā⁶ēlōhīm⁶
tōlā⁶at⁶ ba⁶ālōt⁶ haššāhar⁶
lammāhōrāt⁶ wattak⁶ 'et-
haqqīqāyōn wayyihās⁶

4:8. way(y)^ehī⁶ kizrōah⁶

4:4. And the Lord said, The
doing of good a burning to you
(or, Are you rightly angry?)?

4:5. And Jonah went forth
from the city and sat eastward
of the city; and he made to
him there a booth, and he sat
under it in the shadow until
that he might see what might
be in the city.

4:6. And the Lord God
appointed a vine, and it came
up over Jonah to be shade over
his head to shade him from his
distress; and Jonah rejoiced
over the vine a great joy.

4:7. And God appointed a worm
on the coming up of the dawn
on the morrow, and it injured
the vine and it dried up.

4:8. And it came to pass when

57^b OL: inserts ad ionan.

58 Jon: Are you very angry?; LXX, W: Are you greatly
grieved?; OL: Are you greatly saddened?

59 LXX, W: kephalēs tou iwna; OL: caput ionae.

haššēneš way(y) eman ʾelōhīm
 60 rūah qāqīm hārīšit [60] wattak
 haššēneš ʿal-r(ō)ʾš yōnā
 wayyitʿallap wayyisʾal ʿet-
 napšō lāmūt wayyōʾmer tōb
 mōtī mēhayyāy.

the sun arose that God
 appointed a silent east wind,
 and the sun smote upon Jonah's
 head, and he fainted, and he
 asked his soul to die; and he
 said, Better my death than my
 life.

4:9. wayyōʾmer ʾelōhīm ʾel-
 yōnā hahētēb hārāh-lekā⁶¹ ʿal-
 haqqīqāyōn wayyōʾmer hētēb⁶²
 hārā-lī⁶¹ ʿad-māwet.

4:9. And God said unto Jonah,
 The doing of good, a burning
 to you (or, Are you rightly
 angry?) against the vine? And
 he said, The doing of good, a
 burning to me (or, I am
 rightly angry), unto death.

4:10. wayyōʾmer yhwh ʾattā
 hastā ʿal-haqqīqāyōn ʾāšer lōʾ-
 ʿamāltā bō welōʾ qiddaltō
 63 sebbin-lāy⁶¹lā hāyā ūbin-
 lāy⁶¹lā ʾābād [63]

4:10. And the Lord said, You
 have looked with compassion
 upon the vine, which you have
 not laboured for it, neither
 have you made it grow, which

60-[60] LXX, W: pneūmati kausōnos sugkaionti.

61 See Footnote 58.

62 Jud: hētēb.

63-[63] Jon: dī pelēleyāʾ hārēn hāwāh ūpelēleyāʾ
 ʾahōrānāʾ ʾōpād "which in this night was and in another night
 perished"; LXX: ē egenēthē ūpō nukta kai ūpō nukta ʾapōleto
 "which came up in a night and in a night perished"; W: ē
 egenēthē ūpō nukla apōleto "which came up in a night (and)
 perished."

4:11. wa'ānî lō' 'ahûm 'al-
 nin^ewēh hā'îr hagg^edôlâ 'āser
 yeš-bāh harbēh mištēm-'eśrēh
 ribbô 'ādam 'āser lō'- yāda'
 bēn-y^emînô lišmō'lô ūb^ehēmâ
 rabbâ.

was a son of the night, and a
 son of the night it perished.
 4:11. And shall I not spare
 Nineveh that great city in
 which there are twelve myriad
 people who do not know between
 their right and their left,
 and many cattle?

Summarization. Following is given the number of times each of the manuscripts varied from the TM, with the number of times support is found in each of the other manuscripts, and the number of times no support is found.

Jon varied 23 times

Supported:

LXX / 1 time

Sa / 1 time

W / 1 time

(All three for the same
variant)

No Support: 22 times.

Jud varied 2 times, both in Hebrew spelling.

LXX varied 18 times

Supported:

Jon / 1 time

OL / 8 times

Sa / 4 times

W / 13 times

No Support: 1 time.

OL varied 15 times

Supported:

Jon / 1 time

LXX / 8 times

Sa / 4 times

W / 6 times

No Support: 6 times

Sa varied 15 times

Supported:

Jon / 2 times

LXX / 4 times

OL / 4 times

W / 4 times

No Support: 9 times

W varied 22 times

Supported:

Jon / 2 times

LXX/ 12 times

OL / 8 times

Sa / 4 times

Although many variants were found, the writer found it necessary to make only one change from Kittel's Hebrew text. That change was made in 1:9 from "I am a Hebrew," to "I am a servant of Yahwah." This change is supported by the LXX, W and the Bohairic Coptic.¹

¹The Bohairic Coptic text came to me too late to be put in the critical apparatus.

CHAPTER III

THE "ARAMAISMS" OF JONAH

This chapter will be a linguistic study of ten words given by DeWette, S. R. Driver and Cornill as marks of late date. Included will also be one word (mallāhîm "mariners"), added by Oesterly and Robinson as an "Aramaism".

These words will be studied in terms of their appearance in the Old Testament (Hebrew and Aramaic), in the Targum Jonathan, in Akkadian, in the Ugaritic material, in the Phoenician inscriptions, in the Aramaic inscriptions and documents and in the Aramaic Zadokite Fragments. All of these eleven words will not be found in all of the above sources, but the sources cover all eleven words.

The chapter will be divided into five sections: (1) verbs: ʔr, ḤSB, ʕST, ṢTQ, MNY and ʕML; (2) nouns: sepînāh and taʕam; (3) the particle: še; (4) the noun: mallāhîm; and (5) the expression: ʕēlōhê haššamayim.

I. VERBS

1:2 ûq^erā. "proclaim". DeWette-Parker give the verb QR² as one of the marks of Jonah that indicates a post-exilic date as the time of its composition.¹ However, QR² is as common to the entire span of Old Testament Hebrew as it is common to late Hebrew or to Aramaic. It is used in the sense of "to proclaim" 36 times.² Of these 1 Ki. 13:2, 4, 32; 21:9, 12; Isa. 30:7; Micah 3:5; 6:9; Amos 4:5; Joel 4:9 and Exodus 32:5, are references considered to be pre-exilic by those who consider Jonah to be post-exilic.

No other Hebrew or Aramaic synonym would have been appropriate for the author to use for Jonah's proclamation. The only near synonym is BSR, and its usual meaning is "to proclaim or bring good tidings" as in 1 Sam. 31:9; 2 Sam. 4:10; 18:19, 31; 1 Ch. 10:9; Ps. 40:10; 68:12 and Isa. 61:1.³ The Arabic verb bašira means to "be glad" or "announce good tidings," while the noun bašārātun (Ar.) and b^esōrah (Heb.) means "good tidings." In Akkadian (Assyrian) bussuru

¹DeWette-Parker, Introduction to the Old Testament (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1858), p. 455.

²Brown, Driver and Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 895.

³The only exception to the use of "good tidings" is 1 Samuel 4:17, "And the messenger (ham^ebassēr) answered and said, Israel is fled before the Philistines, and there has been also a great slaughter among the people."

(bussurtu) is also used of good tidings.⁴ The Ugaritic consistently uses BSR in the sense of "good tidings" (nn.) or as "to bring good tidings" (vb.).⁵ Moreover, the verb QR² is found twice in a Ugaritic text, dating between the 16th or 15th and the 12th centuries B.C., meaning "proclaim."⁶

It appears, then, that the author of Jonah, in using QR² used the usual and most appropriate word known to either Hebrew or Aramaic for "to proclaim" against.⁷

⁴Robert Dick Wilson, "The Authenticity of Jonah," The Princeton Theological Review, XVI (April 1918), p. 294, cites the Annals of Ashurbanipal 10:68, "good tidings of the conquest of my enemies was announced to me continually."

⁵Cyrus H. Gordon, "The Poetic Literature of Ugarit," Orientalia, XII (1943), p. 45, line 51:39, bšrtk "thy glad tidings;" G. R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956), p. 118, line 33-4, bšrt el bšr b'el wbsr htk dgn "good tidings of El! Be glad, Ba'al, and be glad, scion of Dagon," p. 60, line 37, abšrk m dn'el "I would give you good tidings, Danel," p. 96-8, line 26-7, tbšr b'el bšrtk yblt "Be gladdened, Ba'al; I have brought these good tidings."

⁶G. R. Driver, "Shachar and Shalim," Op. Cit., p. 120, line 1, eqr'a elm n'mm . . . "I proclaim the gods gracious. . .," line 23, eqr'an elm n'mm . . . "I will proclaim the gracious gods. . ."

⁷The Jonathan Targum interprets the word as QB² "to prophesy."

1:4 hišs^{vv}ebāh l "it was minded to". Carl H. Cornill gives the verb H[✓]SB as one of the marks indicating a late date for the writing of Jonah.⁸ The word is very common throughout the Old Testament, meaning "to think, account." But this instance in Jonah is the only time it is used for an inanimate object. The writer has not been able to find it used in this sense (that is, with an inanimate object) elsewhere in Hebrew or in any other Semitic language. So there is really no standard of comparison for determining the date. The Targum Jonathan uses here the Aramaic B^{c>} "to ask, seek, wish," which is quite common in Aramaic, but appears only twice in Biblical Hebrew (B^{c>}H, Isa. 21:12, 12) in the sense of "enquire." Does this not show the danger of the above type of argument?

⁸Carl H. Cornill, Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament (London: Williams and Norgate, 1907), p. 337.

1:6 yit^{caššē}t "he will think". The verb c^šT is one of S. R. Driver's Aramaisms, demanding a post-exilic date for Jonah.⁹ This is the only occurrence in the Hebrew Old Testament of this form (hithpa^cel) of the root c^šT. It occurs as ceštonōtayw "his thoughts" in Psalm 146:4 and as caštūt "thought" in Job 12:5. It appears once in the Aramaic parts of the Old Testament as c^ušit "he thought" (Dan. 6:4) in the sense of "planned," or "intended."

The Targum Jonathan, in Jonah 1:6 uses RHM "to show compassion,"¹⁰ and not c^šT. The only time Targum Jonathan (Later Prophets) uses c^šT is in Jeremiah 11:19, calay hašibū caštonin "against me they devised devices."¹¹ Even the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra does not use c^šT, but rather yisbar "he will think" (Dan. 7:25) and hašibin "are accounted" (Dan. 4:32). HŠB is very common in Aramaic, as in Hebrew, and is the one most used. The root c^šT is found only three times in the 5th century Aramaic Papyri from Egypt in the sense of "think."¹²

⁹S. R. Driver, Introduction, p. 322.

¹⁰Which may be the Targum's interpretation rather than strict translation.

¹¹This was checked by comparing those 31 references of the TM of the Latter Prophets containing HŠB against the same references in Targum Jonathan.

¹²A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923), p. 113, line 23, hn^cl nrⁿ tb t^cst cl gwrⁿ zn "if it seems good to your lordship, take thought for that temple," p. 212, line 25, brⁿ t zy pnⁿ rbyt cst clly "the son of my [sister], whom I had brought up, imagined against me," p. 214, line 68, cbd lqplzy nt cst "do according as you think."

It would seem that the root ṢṬ is as unique to Hebrew as it is to Aramaic, and cannot be used for a dating of the writing of the book of Jonah.

1:11, 12 wēyistōq "that it may be silent." S. R.

Driver claims this as an Aramaism, a mark of late date.¹³

The root STQ is found outside Jonah in the Old Testament only in Proverbs 26:20¹⁴ and in Psalm 107:30.¹⁵ The Proverbs passage belongs to a group which Driver asserts "were reputed in Hezekiah's age to be ancient,"¹⁶ and the Psalm he considers to be of late date. Neither of these references is used in connection with the sea. Outside of Jonah the Old Testament never speaks of the sea being at rest, although the word for sea occurs 362 times and its plural 30 times.¹⁷ The Targum Jonathan does not use STQ, but NUH.

Outside the Old Testament the root STQ is found but once, and that in the Egyptian Aramaic Papyri of the 5th century B.C.¹⁸

From these rare appearances we cannot say that this was not a normal Hebrew term for the quieting of the sea after the storm. Much less can it be used for the dating of a document.

¹³S. R. Driver, Introduction, p. 322.

¹⁴ūbe>ên nirgân yistōq mādôn "and where there is no whisper, the strife is silent."

¹⁵wayyismēhu kē-yistōqu "then they were glad because they were silent."

¹⁶S. R. Driver, Op. Cit., p. 407. Hezekiah was from about 726 to 697 B. C.

¹⁷Robert Dick Wilson, "The Authenticity of Jonah," The Princeton Theological Review, XVI (April 1948), p. 236.

¹⁸A. Cowley, "The Words of Ahikar," Aramaic Papyri, p. 216, line 121, >stq "I will be silent."

2:1; 4:6,7,8 way(y)^eman "and he appointed." S. R. Driver asserts that MNY used in the sense of "to appoint" is common in Aramaic, a mark of late date.¹⁹ Earlier language, he says, would have used SWH "to command, order" or HPQYD "to appoint."²⁰

MNY, in the sense of "to appoint" is used eleven times in the Old Testament outside the Book of Jonah.²¹ It is used in Akkadian in this same sense.²²

In the 5th century Aramaic Papyri from Egypt, SWH does not occur, PQD in various forms five times and MNY fifteen times, but only twice in the sense of "to appoint."²³ In the 5th century leather Aramaic Documents from Egypt, SWH does not occur, PQD (in its noun form) twenty-eight times and MNY once, and that in the sense of "to appoint."²⁴ In the Aramaic Zadokite-Fragments of about 40 A.D. SWH occurs eleven times, PQD eleven times and MNY not at all.²⁵

The Targum Jonathan, in all four Jonah references uses

²⁰Ibid., p. 506.

²¹1 Chronicles 9:29; Daniel 1:5,10,11; 2:24,49; 3.12.

²²Robert Dick Wilson, Op. Cit., p. 287, tumannima mursa "thou hast allotted (appointed) disease," and sha sharru ... umannu "whom the king had designated."

²³A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C., Index.

²⁴G. R. Driver, Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1957).

²⁵Chaim Rabin, The Zadokite Documents (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1954).

ZIN "to appoint" instead of INNY. Apparently this translator did not feel that Jonah's INNY corresponded exactly to what the Aramaic INNY meant.

SHH occurs in the Old Testament 481 times, but carries the meaning "to appoint" only five times,²⁶ one of these being in Nehemiah, definitely a post-exilic book. It does not occur in the Akkadian at all.

PQD occurs in the Old Testament 366 times, but carries the meaning "to appoint" only fifteen times,²⁷ two of these again in Nehemiah, definitely a post-exilic book, and once in Esther which S. R. Driver places in the 3rd century B.C.²⁸ The word occurs in the Akkadian as pakādu.²⁹

INNY occurs 55 times in the Old Testament, but carries the sense of "to appoint" only nine times.³⁰ Now all these nine occurrences are in books that S. R. Driver would assign to an exilic or post-exilic period. Job he dates at "either during or shortly after the Babylonian captivity."³¹ Chronicles,

²⁶1 Samuel 25:30; 2 Samuel 6:21; 17:14; 1 Kings 1:35 and Nehemiah 5:14.

²⁷Leviticus 26:16; Numbers 1:50; 3:10; 4:27; 1 Samuel 29:4; 2 Kings 7:17; 25:23; 2 Chronicles 23:14; Jeremiah 15:3, 27; 49:19; 50:44; Esther 2:3 and Nehemiah 7:1; 12:44.

²⁸S. R. Driver, Op. Cit., p. 484.

²⁹Brown, Driver and Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, p. 823.

³⁰1 Chronicles 9:29; Job 7:3; Jonah 2:1; 4:6,7,8 and Daniel 1:5,10,11.

³¹S. R. Driver, Op. Cit., p. 432.

he says, is commonly assumed to be the work of the same compiler as Ezra-Nehemiah.³² Jonah and Daniel both give evidence of having been written under Babylonian influence. S. R. Driver's dates and authorships for Chronicles and Job would indicate the same.

Hence, the conclusion we can reach about the word MHY is that it is an old Semitic word and appears in books bearing Assyrian influence (if we accept S. R. Driver's dates), and that it cannot be used to date a document. It is interesting that nowhere does S. R. Driver say that the presence of SWH and PQD in a post-exilic book indicates an early date.

³²Ibid., p. 518.

4:10 ʿāmal "to labor." The root ʿML is one of S. R. Driver's Aramaisms, a mark of late date. He states that older Hebrew would have used YGC.³³

The earliest³⁴ appearance of ʿML is in Proverbs 16:26,³⁵ a part of the Proverbs which S. R. Driver considers the oldest collection, from "the golden days of the monarchy," possibly as early as the beginning of the eighth century B.C.³⁶ Its latest appearance is in Ecclesiastes.³⁷ Hence, it is found in both pre-exilic and post-exilic works. The noun derivative is found fifty-five times, as early as Gen. 41:51,³⁸ which S. R. Driver gives as E material,³⁹ and as late as Ecclesiastes. The noun is found in the Akkadian as nîmelu "gain, possessions."⁴⁰

The verb YGC in the Old Testament means "to toil, or, to grow or be weary" by toil.⁴¹ In those works which S. R.

³³S. R. Driver, Introduction, p. 322.

³⁴According to S. R. Driver's dating.

³⁵nepeš ʿāmēl ʾāmlāh llō "the soul (which) labours, labours for itself."

³⁶S. R. Driver, Op. Cit., pp. 404-5.

³⁷which S. R. Driver dates near the end of the 4th century B. C. Op. Cit., p. 476.

³⁸et-kōl-ʿamālî "all my toil."

³⁹S. R. Driver, Op. Cit., p. 17.

⁴⁰Brown, Driver and Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, p. 765.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 388.

Driver places in the period before 700 B.C.⁴² it occurs only in Proverbs 23:4⁴³ and in Joshua 7:3⁴⁴ (JE). In the actual or alleged post-exilic literature it occurs eight times.⁴⁵ The various derived nouns occur thirty times, but in those works which S. R. Driver dates prior to 700 B.C.⁴⁶ only three times, in 2 Sam. 17:2, Genesis 31:42 (E) and Hosea 12:9 (JE). Hence, this word is also found in both pre-exilic and post-exilic literature. The verb is found in the Akkadian as ēgu "to grow weary."⁴⁷

Outside the Old Testament the root ML is found as early as the eighth century (between 745 and 727 B.C.) Old Aramaic Bar-rekub inscription from Zenzirli.⁴⁸ Both the verb and the noun are found in the 5th century B.C. Aramaic Papyri from Egypt (once each).⁴⁹ The Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus uses

⁴²S. R. Driver, Op. Cit., p. 106, 405.

⁴³al-tit'āw l'ha'āšir "labour not to be rich."

⁴⁴al-teyagga'-'šammāh 'et-kōl-ha'am "cause not all the people to labour there."

⁴⁵Malachi 2:17 (twice); Ecclesiastes 10:15; Job 9:29; Psalm 6:7 (3 times) and Psalm 69.4.

⁴⁶S. R. Driver, Op. Cit., pp. 183, 16, 123.

⁴⁷Brown, Driver and Briggs, Op. Cit., p. 388.

⁴⁸G. A. Cooke, A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 181; E. Lidzbarski, Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962), p. 443, line 7-8, wby't by ml mn kl "and the house of my father laboured more than all."

⁴⁹A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, p. 139, #40, line 2, šm't k'ml' zy mlt... "I have heard of the labour which you have done..."

YC five times and SH three times.⁵⁰ The Zadokite Documents use YC twice but SH not at all.⁵¹

The conclusions from the above study of SH and YG are (1) that both words are found in Akkadian, in early and late Hebrew and in early and late Aramaic, (2) that a writer of either Hebrew or Aramaic could have used either word at any given period of the history of that language and (3) that even if the Hebrew had borrowed the word from the Aramaic it could have done so as early as the middle of the 8th century B.C. The mere appearance of the word SH in the Book of Jonah, then, is not sufficient ground to date the book.

⁵⁰Robert Dick Wilson, "The Authenticity of Jonah," The Princeton Theological Review, XVI (April 1918), p. 292.

⁵¹Ibid.; Chaim Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, Index.

II. NOUNS

1:5 s^epînāh "covered ship." This noun is one cited by S. R. Driver as an Aramaism, a mark of late date for the Book of Jonah.⁵²

This is the only occurrence of this noun form of the root SPN in the Old Testament. However, the noun form sippun "ceiling" is found in I Ki. 6:15. The verbal and infinitive forms of the root is found six times in the Old Testament.⁵³ All of these appear in books that S. R. Driver considers the older literature, pre-exilic.

s^epînāh probably comes from the Hebrew sāpan "to cover," or from the Phoenician equivalent (SPN "to cover").⁵⁴ The noun form "roof" is found in a Phoenician inscription from Byblos from the 5th century B.C.⁵⁵ The noun form "boat" appears

⁵²S. R. Driver, Introduction, p. 322.

⁵³Deuteronomy 33:21, sāpûn (pass. part.) "ceiled;" 1 Kings 7:3, sāpûn (pass. part.) "covered;" Haggai 1:4, s^epûnîm (pass. part. pl.) "ceiled;" Jeremiah 22:14, sāpôn, (inf. abs.) "covering;" 1 Kings 7:7, sāpûn (pass. part.) "covered;" and 1 Kings 6:9, wayyispôn (qal. impf.) "and he covered."

⁵⁴Zellig S. Harris, A Grammar of the Phoenician Language (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1936), p. 127.

⁵⁵M. Lidzbarski, Handbuch, p. 416, Cooke, North-Semitic Inscriptions, p. 18, line 6, wh^crpt z² w^cmdh wh ...m²s² ^clhm wmsonth "and this portico and its pillars and the ... which are upon them and its roof."

three times in the 5th century Aramaic Papyri from Egypt.⁵⁶

The Targum Jonathan uses ʔilpā⁵⁷ "boat" here as well as in Jonah 1:3 where TM uses ʔōnīyāh.

The conclusion is that the root SPN and its derived forms could well be indigenous to a parent language common to both Hebrew and Aramaic and could well have been used in pre-exilic times as in post-exilic.

⁵⁶A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, pp. 88-90, line 3, krky^ʔ kn ʔmrw spynt^ʔ zy mhhsnn... The fortifications say thus: "the boat of which we have charge..."; line 7, hl^ʔ zy lqbl byrt^ʔ b l g w krk y h mt rd t n w ot^ʔ h h w y n spynt^ʔ" on the beach which is in front of the fortress, be [tween] its [fortifications] Mithradates the boatman showed us the boat;" line 22, ngry^ʔ spyt kn l y n y n ʔ w p s r spynt^ʔ... "the carpenters, of SPYT, for the purpose of the repair of this boat..."

⁵⁷The Aramaic ʔilpā no doubt comes from the Akkadian ilpu. Cf. Robert W. Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1926), pp. 450-2, where in the Code of Hammurapi, Sect. C, "Laborers and Labor," the noun ilpu "boat" appears 20 times.

3:7 ta^can "a decree." This is one of S. R. Driver's Aramaisms, a mark of late date.⁵⁸

On examining the word we find the verb used most commonly in the Old Testament as "to taste" and "to judge." In its meaning of "decree," "command," "report," or "commander," the noun is used here in Jonah once (3:7), in the Aramaic of Daniel five times and in the Aramaic of Ezra twenty-one times.

Outside the Old Testament it is found in Akkadian in the noun form as "command or decree," but never in the sense of "to taste."⁵⁹ It does not appear in any Phoenician inscription in any form nor yet in the Ugaritic material. It appears in the Arabic only in the sense of "taste,"⁶⁰ and the same in Syriac.⁶¹ In the Samaritan, Jonathan and Onkelos Targums and the Talmud there is no example of its use in the sense of "decree."⁶² The Targum Jonathan in Jonah 3:7 uses

⁵⁸S. R. Driver, Introduction, p. 322.

⁵⁹Brown, Driver and Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, p. 381, tamu. The reference given is Annals of Assurbanipal III, p. 95.

⁶⁰Hans Wehr, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, J. M. Cowley, ed. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1961).

⁶¹J. Payne Smith, ed., Syriac Dictionary (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1957).

⁶²Levy, Dictionary to the Targums and Talmud, cited by Robert Dick Wilson, "The Authenticity of Jonah," The Princeton Theological Review, XVI, (April 1918), p. 289.

ezêrâh "decree" for the Hebrew ta'am "decree," but T^{am} "taste" for the Hebrew T^{am} "taste" in the same reference.⁶³

In the 5th century B.C. Aramaic Papyri from Egypt the root appears ten times, four times as "taste," once as "authority" and five times as "order or decree."⁶⁴ In the 5th century B.C. Aramaic Documents from Egypt, the word appears eleven times, in all cases meaning "instruction or order."⁶⁵ These Papyri and Documents were written by a colony of Jews at Elephantine, who apparently had been settled there under Babylonian rule.⁶⁶

The thing that comes to light in this study is that the root T^{am} in the sense of "decree" or "order" is found only in Akkadian, Hebrew and Aramaic. Moreover, it is found only in documents written by people under direct Assyrian influence. Jonah is said to have gone to Nineveh, Daniel is a part of the Exile in Assyria, Ezra returns from the Exile in Assyria, and the Jews of Elephantine were an Assyrian colony.

⁶³MT: ...mitta'am hammelek...al-yit^{am}mu "... from the decree of the king...let them not taste..." Jonathan: ...migg^{ezêrat} malka...lā yit^{am}mun "... from the decree of the king...let them not taste..."

⁶⁴A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri ("order", "decree"). #26, lines 22,23,25; #27, line 21; #34, line 7; #41, line 7.

⁶⁵G. R. Driver, Aramaic Documents, p. 101.

⁶⁶A. Cowley, Op. Cit., p. xvi.

The conclusion is that the root ṬḤ cannot be used to date a document, but could be found in a document of any age if that document came under Assyrian influence, at least until the word is found elsewhere with the meaning of "decree."

III. PARTICLE še

1:7 b^ešell^emê "on whose account;" 1:12 b^ešellî "on account of me;" 4:10 šëbbin "which a son of." All three of these compound uses of še are cited by S. R. Driver and C. H. Cornill as Aramaisms, marks of a late date.⁶⁷

The wide scope of the use of this relative particle, both in time and area is interesting. It is without doubt related to the Akkadian genitive particle ša.⁶⁸ It is found in Phoenician many times,⁶⁹ appearing in a Punic inscription as early as the 6th century B.C.⁷⁰ The only Aramaic documents in which it is found are the two inscriptions from Nêrab, dated 7th century B.C.⁷¹

In the Hebrew Old Testament it is found as early as Judges 5:7 (the Song of Deborah),⁷² which is usually considered

⁶⁷S. R. Driver, Introduction, p. 322; C. H. Cornill, Introduction, p. 337.

⁶⁸Brown, Driver and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 979; numerous examples may be found in R. W. Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels, where he gives both transliteration and translation.

⁶⁹Brown, Driver and Briggs, Op. Cit., p. 979; Zellig Harris, A Grammar of Phoenician, p. 148; M. Lidzbarski, Handbuch, pp. 227, 371.

⁷⁰G. A. Cooke, A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions, p. 110-11, rš š ngd "Rosh, (son) of Nagid."

⁷¹M. Lidzbarski, Handbuch, p. 445; G. A. Cooke, Op. Cit., p. 186, line 1, ššnzrbrn kmr šhr "Of Sin-zir-ban, priest of Sahar," and p. 189, line 1, š'gbr kmr šhr "Of Agbar, priest of Sahar."

⁷²šad šagqamtî debôrâh šagqamtî šēm beyisrâš'el "Until that I Deborah arose, that I arose a mother in Israel."

as one of the earliest documents in the Old Testament,⁷³ and as late as Ecclesiastes (68 times),⁷⁴ which is usually considered as one of the latest,⁷⁵ and in Genesis 6:3⁷⁶ which C. H. Cornill considers as belonging to J.⁷⁷

It is the usual form in the Hebrew of the Talmud, almost completely replacing šr.⁷⁸ It does not seem to appear at all in the Aramaic of the 5th century B.C. Egyptian Papyri or Documents, or in the Zadokite Documents of 40 A.D.⁷⁹

According to these findings it is clear that the particle še may have been used in Hebrew documents from the earliest to the latest, and is actually found in documents of all ages. It is equally clear that its presence in any given document cannot be used to determine the date of that document.

⁷³Carl H. Cornill, Op. Cit., p. 160.

⁷⁴e.g., 1:7, šel-meqôm šehannehālîm hôlekîm "unto the place which the rivers go."

⁷⁵C. H. Cornill, Op. Cit., p. 452.

⁷⁶bešagam hû' bāsār "for that he is flesh."

⁷⁷C. H. Cornill, Op. Cit., p. 43.

⁷⁸Robert Dick Wilson, "The Authenticity of Jonah," The Princeton Theological Review, XVI (April 1918), p. 284.

⁷⁹A. Cowley, Op. Cit., Glossary; G. R. Driver, Aramaic Documents, Glossary; Chaim Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, Glossary.

IV. THE NOUN ṢALLĀḤĪM

1:5 Ṣallāḥīm "mariners." Popular etymology has tried to connect the word with the Hebrew melah "salt," but this is wrong. It comes from the Sumerian word MA.LAH₄ "sailor," and probably entered Hebrew through the Akkadian malāhu "sailor."⁸⁰ In the Sumerian the first sign is the word MA "ship," and the second is LAH₄ "to drive, to direct, to steer." Both words together mean "ship-driver," hence, "sailor."⁸¹

The Akkadian word (malāhu) passed into the Aramaic and Syriac as MLH² from which the Arabic ṣallāḥun came.⁸² Had the Arabic come directly from the Akkadian it probably would have been spelled with /ḥ/, not /h/.⁸³ The word came into the Phoenician as MLH "mariner."⁸⁴

⁸⁰Maximillian Ellegbogen, Foreign Words in the Old Testament (London: Luzac and Company, 1962), p. 103; in the Code of Hammurapi, Sect. C, "Laborers and Labor," Robert W. Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels, pp. 450-51, the Akkadian word malahu "mariner" appears 10 times.

⁸¹Maximillian Ellenbogen, Loc. Cit.

⁸²Ibid., cites S. Fraenkel, Die Aramaischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen, p. 221.

⁸³The Akkadian has only /ḥ/, the Aramaic has only /h/ while Arabic has both. Cyrus Gordon, Ugaritic Manual, p. 26.

⁸⁴It is found in a 4th century B.C. inscription from the temple Abydos in Egypt. Mark Lidzbarski, Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik (Glessen: J. Richer'sche 1902), vol. 3, p. 96, ...dn bn snr hmlhm " ? son of SNR the mariners"

Outside of Jonah the word is used in the Old Testament only in Ezekiel's lamentation for Tyre (Ezk. 27:9,27,29). The entire lamentation concerns Tyre's trade business, and especially with Tarshish (v. 12). Since we find the word in a Phoenician inscription, meaning precisely what it does in the Hebrew, "sailor, mariner," and in the Hebrew Old Testament it is used in connection with Phoenicia's (Tyre's) sea-trade with Tarshish (Ezekiel 27) and with a ship going to Tarshish (Jonah 1:5) we can conclude that the ship in Jonah was Phoenician and no doubt most of the mariners also. The importance of the high possibility that these were Phoenician mariners is seen in the study of the next word.

This word is clearly not a mark of late date, for it is as old as Sumerian, a language dating at least as early as 3500 B.C.^{84a}

^{84a}W. F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1957), p. 35.

V. THE EXPRESSION ʔĒLŌHĒ HAŠŠĀMAYIM

1:9 ʔĒlōhē haššamayim "the God of Heaven." S. R.

Driver states that "the title 'God of Heaven,' as in Neh.

1:5⁸⁵ and other post-exilic writers" is a mark of late post-exilic date.⁸⁶

On examining carefully the full formula of Jonah's speech to the Phoenician mariners, we find that he did not use merely the term ʔĒlōhē haššamayim "the God of Heaven," but rather Yhwh ʔĒlōhē haššamayim . . . ʔĕšer-ʿāsah ʔet-hayyām wʿet-hayyabbāšah "Yahweh, the God of Heaven. . . who made the sea and the dry land." Jonah was not talking of only Yahweh, nor of only ʔĒlōhīm, but of Yahweh ʔĒlōhīm, who to him were one and the same God.

We must remember that from the very inception of Israel's life in Canaan, Israel had an abject abhorrence of Baʿal worship. Her religious leaders fought to keep Baʿal out of the life and thought of the People.⁸⁷ They even substituted ʔEl or Yah in personal names in the place of the Canaanite Baʿal. Some of the Old Testament names compounded

⁸⁵S. R. Driver, Introduction, on p. 553, he states, "God of Heaven Neh. 1:4,5; 2:4,20 is a post-exilic expression often used in converse with heathen, or placed in their mouth."

⁸⁶S. R. Driver, Introduction, p. 322.

⁸⁷Note especially Gideon's battle against Baʿal, at the direct order of Yahweh ʔĒlōhīm (Judges 6), and Elijah's victory over Baʿalism through the power of Yahweh ʔĒlōhīm (1 Kings 18).

with ʾEl have been found in Assyrian and Phoenician inscriptions compounded with Baʿal. The name ʾelhānān "God has been gracious" (2 Sam. 21:19; 23:24; 1 Chr. 11:26; 20:5) is Baʿalhanunu in an Assyrian inscription,⁸⁸ Bʿlhnn⁸⁹ and Bʿlyhn⁹⁰ in Phoenician. Other examples could be cited.⁹¹

In view of this let us examine the expression "God of Heaven." Baʿal Shamēm is a god who appears in many inscriptions from the tenth century B.C. to the middle of the first millennium A.D., from Mesopotamia to Carthage and Sardinia.⁹²

⁸⁸Zellig Harris, A Phoenician Grammar, p. 89; Brown, Driver and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 45, cites a 7th century B.C. inscription published in O. H. Whitehouse, The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament.

⁸⁹This form is given by Z. Harris, Op. Cit., p. 89, as a reconstructed form, not actually found in any inscription.

⁹⁰Z. Harris, Op. Cit., p. 89; M. Lidzbarski, Ephemeris, vol. III, p. 110, ʾnk bʿlyhn bn mnqrthny "I am Baʿalyahon, son of Menqrthanni."

⁹¹e.g., Heb. ʾelīʿezer (God is help)--Ph. ʿzrbʿl, bʿlʿzr; Heb. ʾelīšapat (God has judged)--Ph. šptbʿl, bʿlšpt; Heb. ʾelnātān (God has given)--Ph. ytnbʿl, bʿlytn. Brown, Driver and Briggs, Op. Cit., pp. 45-6.

⁹²R. T. O'Callaghan, "The Great Phoenician Inscription from Karatepe," Orientalia, (1949), p. 203. Actually we find similar expressions earlier. In an 18th century B.C. Sumerian votive inscription erected by an Amorite to Ashirat (Asherah), El's consort, she is called "the bride of heaven;" cf. W. F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, 2 ed. (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1957), p. 231. In the Sumerian Epic of Gilgamesh Ishtar is called "Queen of Heaven;" cf. N. K. Sandars, The Epic of Gilgamesh (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 84. In 14th to 12th centuries B.C. Egyptian inscriptions we find the Semitic Anat, Astarte and Qadesh each bearing the Egyptian title "Lady of Heaven;" cf. J.B. Prichard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 249-50. All three of these titles may be generally equivalent to the Hebrew mʿleket hassamayim "Queen of the Heavens" as in Jeremiah 7:18.

The head of the Canaanite and Phoenician pantheon was the god ʿEl,⁹³ just as among the Israelites he was called ʿEl ʿElyōn "the highest God," or ʿEl Shaddai "the Sufficient God." The great active figure, though, of the pantheon was Baʿal, the storm-god and king of the gods. His common title among the Phoenicians was Baʿal Shamēm "lord of heaven."⁹⁴

The earliest inscriptions we have with the use of this title, however, are not Phoenician, but Egyptian, coming from the 14th century B.C. Baʿal was the counterpart of the Egyptian god Seth, and his name was used in figures of speech relating to the pharaoh in battle. Later we find Baʿlshamēm in the 10th century B.C. Yehimilk inscription (Phoenician) from Byblos,⁹⁶ Beʿel shamayn in the early 8th century B.C. Zakir of Hamat and Luʿath inscription (Aramaic) from near Aleppo⁹⁷ and Baʿalshemayn in the late 7th century B.C. inscription (Aramaic) from Saqqarah.⁹⁸

⁹³W. F. Albright says this represents "the god;" cf. From the Stone Age to Christianity, p. 231.

⁹⁴This title has not been found at Ugarit, but was early applied to the Syrian storm-god in the 14th century B.C.; cf. W.F. Albright, Op. Cit., p. 231.

⁹⁵J. B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, p. 249, "His battle cry is like (that of) Baal in the heavens."

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 499.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 501; for the Aramaic text cf. C. C. Torrey, Journal of the American Oriental Society, XXV (1915-17), pp. 354-60.

⁹⁸H.L. Ginsberg, "An Aramaic Contemporary of the Lachish Letters," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, CXI (1948), pp. 24-27.

But the most interesting occurrence of the name is in the 9th or 8th century B.C. Karatepe inscription (Phoenician) found at Karatepe in eastern Cilicia.⁹⁹ Here Ba'al Shamem occurs with El, creator of the earth.¹⁰⁰ The early occurrence of so interesting a phrase for Old Testament theology is of extreme importance, especially since much of the vocabulary in the Karatepe inscription is common in Biblical Hebrew, but not so in "standard" Phoenician. A. Vincent has given the possible identification of Ba'al Shamem with Elyôn.¹⁰¹ But this inscription clearly distinguishes between Ba'al Shamem and El, Creator of the earth.¹⁰² The interesting note here is that in Genesis 14:19 the names which occur as distinct gods in the Canaanite-Phoenician world are applied by Melchisedik to El alone,¹⁰³ and in verse 22 Abraham

⁹⁹For text and translation cf. Roger T. O'Callaghan, "The Great Phoenician Portal Inscription from Karatepe," Orientalia, (1949), pp. 171-215; Jacob Leween and Cyril Moses, "Second Recension of the Phoenician Inscription from Karatepe," The Journal of Jewish Studies, (1949), pp. 189-93; Cyrus H. Gordon, "Azitawadd's Phoenician Inscription," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, (April 1959), pp. 108-15; Ralph Marcus and I. J. Gelb, "The Phoenician Stele Inscription from Cilicia," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, (April 1949), pp. 116-20.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., Col. 3, line 18, ... b'al šm̄m w'al ʔn ʔrs.

¹⁰¹La Religion des judéo-araméens d'Éléphantine, (Paris: 1937), p. 127, cited by Roger T. O'Callaghan, Op. Cit., p. 204.

¹⁰²R.T. O'Callaghan cautions against pressing this distinction too far, Op. Cit., p. 204.

¹⁰³El elyôn qônēh šamayim wā'āres.

identifies the entire phrase with Yahweh.¹⁰⁴ Thus Ba'al of the Canaanite world is completely eliminated in the Old Testament texts.

This casts a new light upon Jonah's statement. He does not merely substitute El (Elôhîm) for Ba'al in the phrase "God of Heaven,"¹⁰⁵ but he deliberately eliminates Ba'al, for to him Ba'al was not the God of Heaven. Furthermore, he identifies the God of Heaven, the Creator of the sea and the land with Yahweh, just as Abraham had done.

The study of this expression has shown that the term "God of Heaven" can in no way be restricted to a post-exilic period. It can and does appear long before.

¹⁰⁴yehwāh El elyōn ônēh sāmāyim wā'āreš.

¹⁰⁵Remember, he was addressing Phoenicians who no doubt worshipped Ba'al Shamēm.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Summary. This study has examined linguistically, the Book of Jonah, to determine whether or not a late (post-exilic) date is necessitated by its linguistic features.

The study first translated and compared the Aramaic, Greek, Coptic and Old Latin Versions against R. Kittel's Masoretic Hebrew Text. Although many variants were found, the writer found it necessary to make only one change from Kittel's Hebrew Text in establishing the text. That change was made in 1:9 where Kittel's Text reads "I am a Hebrew." It was changed to "I am a servant of Yahwah."

The study then proceeded to examine eleven words in the Book, called "Aramaisms," which are usually used as one of the bases for placing the writing of the book in the post-exilic period. The words were examined in the light of their appearance in Akkadian, Old Testament Hebrew and Aramaic, the Targum Jonathan, Ugaritic material and Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions and documents.

Conclusion. The conclusion to this study problem, based on the presence of these words in the cross-section of Semitic literature, is that the appearance of any or all of these words in any given document cannot be used to indicate the date of the writing of that document. The Book of Jonah

could have been written in the pre-exilic period as well as in the post-exilic period. The presence of these words in Jonah does not necessitate any given date.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE SEPTUAGINT JONAH¹

NOTES

This edition of the Septuagint is based mainly on the three famous manuscripts Codex Vaticanus (B), Codex Sinaiticus (S, X), and Codex Alexandrinus (A). Variant readings of these three MSS are fully noted.

For centuries the Codex Vaticanus has enjoyed the prestige of being the oldest and best extant copy of the Septuagint, and it is, in the main, the basic text of the editions of the Greek Bible now in use. It has, however, been available for scholarship only since 1889-90, when a complete facsimile of the whole manuscript was published.² The manuscript belongs to the last half of the 4th century A.D., for a study of the relationship between this Codex and the literary works of Athanasius shows that it must have been written about 367 A.D.³ It is now not considered to be the oldest.

The Codex Sinaiticus belongs to the early 4th century

¹Alfred Rahlfs, ed., Septuaginta (Germany: Wurttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1962).

²Bleddyn J. Roberts, The Old Testament Text and Versions (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1951), p. 153.

³Ibid., p. 154.

A.D. There is evidence that the scribes wrote from dictation, for phonetic errors in spelling occur throughout. Three different scribes were engaged in its writing, and these were followed by a number of correctors who worked on the text down to the 7th century.⁴ The manuscript was discovered by Tischendorf in 1844 in the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai.

This codex has been described as "one of the chief treasures of the British Museum since its foundation."⁵ It was written in the first half of the 5th century A.D., and contains portions of the whole Bible, including the Apocrypha.⁶ The text in general follows the Hexaplaric version closely.⁷ One important characteristic of the codex is that a gloss of a theological character is frequently inserted in the text.⁸

The manuscript was kept in Constantinople in the 17th century, and presented to Charles I in 1627, by Cyril Lucas, who had been Patriarch of Alexandria and had probably brought the manuscript with him from the Patriarchal library at Cairo.⁹ The only fact known about its previous history

⁴Ibid., p. 151.

⁵Ibid., p. 152, cites A. Allgeier, Die Chester Beatty Papyri zum Pentateuch (1938), p. 35.

⁶Roberts, Op. Cit., p. 152.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., p. 153.

⁹Ibid., cites F. G. Kenyon, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts, 4th ed. (London: 1937), p. 135.

is found in an Arabic note, of the 13th century, entered on the first leaf of Genesis, stating that the codex was "bound in the Patriarchal cell in the fortress of Alexandria. He that lets it go out shall be cursed and ruined."¹⁰ Accordingly, it has been concluded that the original home of the manuscript was Egypt.¹¹

¹⁰Roberts, Op. Cit., p. 153.

¹¹Ibid.

TEXT

ΙΩΝΑΣ

- 1 ¹Καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἰωнан τὸν τοῦ Αμαθι λέγων
 2 ²Ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύθητι εἰς Νινευη τὴν πόλιν τὴν μεγάλην καὶ
 κήρυξον ἐν αὐτῇ, ὅτι ἀνέβη ἡ κραυγὴ τῆς κακίας αὐτῆς πρὸς με.
 3 ³καὶ ἀνέστη Ἰωνας τοῦ φυγεῖν εἰς Θαρσις ἐκ προσώπου κυρίου
 καὶ κατέβη εἰς Ἰοππην καὶ εὔρεν πλοῖον βαδίζον εἰς Θαρσις καὶ
 ἔδωκεν τὸ ναῦλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέβη εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦ πλεῦσαι μετ' αὐ-
 4 τῶν εἰς Θαρσις ἐκ προσώπου κυρίου. ⁴καὶ κύριος ἐξήγειρεν πνεῦμα
 εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐγένετο κλύδων μέγας ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, καὶ
 5 τὸ πλοῖον ἐκινδύνευεν συντριβῆναι. ⁵καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν οἱ ναυτικοὶ
 καὶ ἀνεβόων ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκβολὴν ἐποιήσαντο
 τῶν σκευῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τοῦ κουφισθῆναι
 ἀπ' αὐτῶν. Ἰωνας δὲ κατέβη εἰς τὴν κοίλην τοῦ πλοίου καὶ ἐκά-
 6 θευδεν καὶ ἔρρεγχεν. ⁶καὶ προσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πρῳρεὺς καὶ
 εἶπεν αὐτῷ Τί σὺ ῥέγχεις; ἀνάστα καὶ ἐπικαλοῦ τὸν θεόν σου,
 7 ὅπως διασώσῃ ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ μὴ ἀπολώμεθα. ⁷καὶ εἶπεν ἕκαστος
 πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ Δεῦτε βάλῳμεν κλήρους καὶ ἐπιγνῶμεν
 τίνος ἔνεκεν ἡ κακία αὕτη ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν. καὶ ἔβαλον κλήρους, καὶ
 8 ἔπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος ἐπὶ Ἰωнан. ⁸καὶ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν Ἀπάγγειλον
 ἡμῖν τίνος ἔνεκεν ἡ κακία αὕτη ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν. τίς σου ἡ ἐργασία
 ἐστίν; καὶ πόθεν ἔρχῃ, καὶ ἐκ ποίας χώρας καὶ ἐκ ποίου λαοῦ εἶ
 9 σύ; ⁹καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Δοῦλος κυρίου ἐγώ εἰμι καὶ τὸν κύριον
 θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐγὼ σέβομαι, ὃς ἐποίησεν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ

τὴν Ξηράν. ¹⁰καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν οἱ ἄνδρες φόβον μέγαν καὶ εἶπαν ¹⁰
 πρὸς αὐτόν Τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; διότι ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες ὅτι ἐκ
 προσώπου κυρίου ἦν φεύγων, ὅτι ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς. ¹¹καὶ εἶπαν ¹¹
 πρὸς αὐτόν Τί σοι ποιήσωμεν καὶ κοπάσει ἡ θάλασσα ἀφ' ἡμῶν;
 ὅτι ἡ θάλασσα ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἐξήγειρεν μάλλον κλύδωνα. ¹²καὶ ¹²
 εἶπεν Ἰωνας πρὸς αὐτούς Ἄρατέ με καὶ ἐμβάλετέ με εἰς τὴν θά-
 λασσαν, καὶ κοπάσει ἡ θάλασσα ἀφ' ὑμῶν· διότι ἔγνωκα ἐγὼ ὅτι
 δι' ἐμὲ ὁ κλύδων ὁ μέγας οὗτος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐστίν. ¹³καὶ παρεβιάζοντο ¹³
 οἱ ἄνδρες τοῦ ἐπιστρέφειν πρὸς τὴν γῆν καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο, ὅτι ἡ
 θάλασσα ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἐξηγείρετο μάλλον ἐπ' αὐτούς. ¹⁴καὶ ἀν- ¹⁴
 εβόησαν πρὸς κύριον καὶ εἶπαν Μηδαμῶς, κύριε, μὴ ἀπολώμεθα
 ἕνεκεν τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου, καὶ μὴ δῶς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς
 αἷμα δίκαιον, ὅτι σύ, κύριε, ὃν τρόπον ἐβούλου πεποίηκας. ¹⁵καὶ ¹⁵
 ἔλαβον τὸν Ἰωνάν καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἔστη
 ἡ θάλασσα ἐκ τοῦ σάλου αὐτῆς. ¹⁶καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν οἱ ἄνδρες φόβῳ ¹⁶
 μεγάλῳ τὸν κύριον καὶ ἔθυσαν θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ εὕξαντο εὐχάς.

¹Καὶ προσέταξεν κύριος κῆτει μεγάλῳ καταπιεῖν τὸν Ἰωναν· καὶ ²
 ἦν Ἰωνας ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας.
²καὶ προσηύξατο Ἰωνας πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς κοι- ²
 λίας τοῦ κήτους ³καὶ εἶπεν ³

Ἐβόησα ἐν θλίψει μου πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεόν μου, καὶ εἰς-
 ἤκουσέν μου·

ἐκ κοιλίας ᾗδου κραυγῆς μου ἤκουσας φωνῆς μου.

⁴ἀπέρριψάς με εἰς βάθη καρδίας θαλάσσης, καὶ ποταμοί με ⁴
 ἐκύκλωσαν·

πάντες οἱ μετεωρισμοί σου καὶ τὰ κύματά σου ἐπ' ἐμὲ διῆλθον.

⁵καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπα Ἀπώσμαι ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σου· ⁵

ἄρα προσθήσω τοῦ ἐπιβλέπειν πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἁγίον
 σου;

⁶περιεχύθη ὕδωρ μοι ἕως ψυχῆς,

ἄβυσσος ἐκύκλωσέν με ἐσχάτη,

ἔδου ἡ κεφαλὴ μου εἰς σχισμὰς ὀρέων.

⁷κατέβην εἰς γῆν, ἥς οἱ μοχλοὶ αὐτῆς κάτοχοι αἰώνιοι,

- καὶ ἀναβήτην φθορὰ ζωῆς μου, κύριε ὁ θεός μου.
- 8 ⁸ ἐν τῷ ἐκλείπειν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν μου τοῦ κυρίου ἐμνήσθην,
καὶ ἔλθοι πρὸς σέ ἡ προσευχή μου εἰς ναὸν ἁγίόν σου.
- 9 ⁹ φυλασσόμενοι μάταια καὶ ψευδῇ ἔλεος αὐτῶν ἐγκατέλιπον.
- 10 ¹⁰ ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ φωνῆς αἰνέσεως καὶ ἑξομολογήσεως θύσω σοι·
ὅσα ἠύξάμην, ἀποδώσω σοι σωτηρίου τῷ κυρίῳ.)
- 11 ¹¹ καὶ προσετάγη τῷ κῆτει, καὶ ἐξέβαλεν τὸν Ἰωναν ἐπὶ τὴν ξηράν.
- 3 ¹ Καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἰωναν ἐκ δευτέρου λέγων
- 2 ² Ἀνάστηθι· καὶ πορεύθητι εἰς Νινευη τὴν πόλιν τὴν μεγάλην καὶ
κήρυξον ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ ἔμπροσθεν, ὃ ἐγὼ ἐλάλησα
- 3 πρὸς σέ. ³ καὶ ἀνέστη Ἰωνας καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς Νινευη, καθὼς ἐλά-
λησεν κύριος· ἡ δὲ Νινευη ἦν πόλις μεγάλη τῷ θεῷ ὥσει πορείας
- 4 ὁδοῦ ἡμερῶν τριῶν. ⁴ καὶ ἤρξατο Ἰωνας τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν
ὥσει πορείαν ἡμέρας μιᾶς καὶ ἐκήρυξεν καὶ εἶπεν Ὅτι τρεῖς ἡμέραι
- 5 καὶ Νινευη καταστραφήσεται. ⁵ καὶ ἐνεπίστευσαν οἱ ἄνδρες Νινευη
τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐκήρυξαν νηστείαν καὶ ἐνεδύσαντο σάκκους ἀπὸ μεγάλου
- 6 αὐτῶν ἕως μικροῦ αὐτῶν. ⁶ καὶ ἤγγισεν ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
τῆς Νινευη, καὶ ἐξανέστη ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ καὶ περιείλατο τὴν
στολὴν αὐτοῦ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ περιεβάλετο σάκκον καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ
- 7 σποδοῦ. ⁷ καὶ ἐκηρύχθη καὶ ἐρρέθη ἐν τῇ Νινευη παρὰ τοῦ βασι-
λέως καὶ παρὰ τῶν μεγιστάνων αὐτοῦ λέγων Οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ
κτῆνη καὶ οἱ βόες καὶ τὰ πρόβατα μὴ γευσάσθωσαν μηδὲν μηδὲ
- 8 νεμέσθωσαν μηδὲ ὕδωρ πίετωσαν. ⁸ καὶ περιεβάλοντο σάκκους οἱ
ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ κτῆνη, καὶ ἀνεβόησαν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐκτενῶς·
καὶ ἀπέστρεψαν ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς καὶ
- 9 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδικίας τῆς ἐν χερσὶν αὐτῶν λέγοντες ⁹ Τίς οἶδεν εἰ μετα-
νοήσει ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἀποστρέψει ἔξ ὀργῆς θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ μὴ
- 10 ἀπολώμεθα; ¹⁰ καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἀπέστρεψαν
ἀπὸ τῶν ὁδῶν αὐτῶν τῶν πονηρῶν, καὶ μετενόησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ
τῇ κακίᾳ, ἣ ἐλάλησεν τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησεν.

¹Καὶ ἐλυπήθη Ἰωνας λύπην μεγάλην καὶ συνεχύθη. ²καὶ προσεύ- 4
 ξατο πρὸς κύριον καὶ εἶπεν Ὁ κύριε, οὐχ οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι μου ἔτι
 ὄντος μου ἐν τῇ γῇ μου; διὰ τοῦτο προέφθασα τοῦ φυγεῖν εἰς
 Θαρσῖς, διότι ἔγνων ὅτι σὺ ἐλεήμων καὶ οἰκτίρμων, μακρόθυμος
 καὶ πολυέλεος καὶ μετανοῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς κακίαις. ³καὶ νῦν, δέσποτα 3
 κύριε, λαβὲ τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι καλὸν τὸ ἀποθανεῖν με
 ἢ ζῆν με. ⁴καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Ἰωναν Εἰ σφόδρα λελύπησαι σὺ; 4
⁵καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Ἰωνας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἀπέναντι τῆς πό- 5
 λεως· καὶ ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ ἐκεῖ σκηνὴν καὶ ἐκάθητο ὑποκάτω αὐτῆς
 ἐν σκιᾷ, ἕως οὗ ἀπὶδῃ τί ἔσται τῇ πόλει. ⁶καὶ προσέταξεν κύριος 6
 ὁ θεὸς κολοκύνθῃ, καὶ ἀνέβη ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Ἰωνα τοῦ εἶναι
 σκιὰν ὑπεράνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ σκιάζειν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν
 κακῶν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐχάρη Ἰωνας ἐπὶ τῇ κολοκύνθῃ χαρὰν μεγάλην.
⁷καὶ προσέταξεν ὁ θεὸς σκώληκι ἑωθινῇ τῇ ἐπαύριον, καὶ ἐπάταξεν 7
 τὴν κολοκύνθαν, καὶ ἀπεξηράνθη. ⁸καὶ ἐγένετο ἅμα τῷ ἀνατεῖλαι 8
 τὸν ἥλιον καὶ προσέταξεν ὁ θεὸς πνεύματι καύσωνος συγκαίοντι,
 καὶ ἐπάταξεν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωνα· καὶ ὠλιγοψύχησεν
 καὶ ἀπελέγετο τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν Καλὸν μοι ἀποθανεῖν με
 ἢ ζῆν. ⁹καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Ἰωναν Εἰ σφόδρα λελύπησαι σὺ 9
 ἐπὶ τῇ κολοκύνθῃ; καὶ εἶπεν Σφόδρα λελύπημαι ἐγὼ ἕως θανάτου.
¹⁰καὶ εἶπεν κύριος Σὺ ἐφείσω ὑπὲρ τῆς κολοκύνθης, ὑπὲρ ἧς οὐκ 10
 ἐκακοπάθηςας ἐπ' αὐτήν καὶ οὐκ ἐξέθρεψας αὐτήν, ἣ ἐγενήθη ὑπὸ
 νύκτα καὶ ὑπὸ νύκτα ἀπώλετο. ¹¹ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ φείσομαι ὑπὲρ Νινευῆ 11
 τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης, ἐν ἣ κατοικοῦσιν πλείους ἢ δώδεκα μυ-
 ριάδες ἀνθρώπων, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν δεξιὰν αὐτῶν ἢ ἀριστεράν
 αὐτῶν, καὶ κτήνη πολλά;

TRANSLATION

Chapter 1

1) And the word of the Lord came unto Jonah the son of Amathi, saying,

2) Arise and go to Nineveh that great city and proclaim in it because the cry of its wickedness has come up unto me.

3) And Jonah arose to flee to Tarsis from the face of the Lord. And he went down unto Joppa, and he found a ship going to Tarsis; and he gave his fare and he embarked in it to sail with them to Tarsis from the face of the Lord.

4) But the Lord cast a wind into the sea, and there was a great billow in the sea and the ship was in danger of breaking.

5) And the mariners were afraid and they cried, each one to his god and they made a casting out of the baggage which was in the ship into the sea to lighten it from them. Now Jonah had gone down into the hold of the ship and he was asleep and was snoring.

6) And the master came to him and said to him, Why are you snoring? Arise and call on your God, that your God may save us and [that] we may not perish.

7) Then he said, each one to his companion, Come, let us cast lots and let us know on whose account this evil is among us. So they cast lots and the lot fell upon Jonah.

8) Then they said unto him, Tell us on whose account is this evil among us. What is your occupation, and whence do you come? And from what country and from what people are you?

9) And he said unto them, A servant of the Lord am I and the Lord God of heaven I worship, who made the sea and the dry land.

10) And the men feared a great fear and they said unto him, Why did you do this? For the men knew that from the face of the Lord he was fleeing, for he had told them.

11) And they said unto him, What shall we do to you that the sea may abate for us? For the sea rolled and aroused a great billow.

12) Then Jonah said unto them, Take me up and throw me into the sea, and the sea will abate from you, for I know that on my account is this great billow upon you.

13) Then the men labored hard to return to the land, but were not able, for the sea rolled and arose greatly against them.

14) Then they cried unto the Lord and said, O Lord, let us not at all perish for the life of this man, and do not bring upon us innocent blood, for you, O Lord, in the manner you willed you have done.

15) And they took Jonah and cast him into the sea, and the sea was [still] from its rolling.

16) Then the men feared the Lord with a great fear, and they sacrificed a sacrifice to the Lord and vowed vows.

Chapter 2

- 1) And the Lord commanded a great fish to swallow Jonah.
And Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights.
- 2) And Jonah prayed unto the Lord his God from the belly of the fish,
- 3) and said, I cried in my affliction unto the Lord my God, and he hearkened to me. From the belly of Hades my cry, you heard my voice.
- 4) You have cast me into the depth of the heart of the sea, and streams encircled me. All your billows and your waves passed over me.
- 5) Then I said, I am driven away from your sight, yet I shall run to look towards your holy temple.
- 6) Water encompassed me to [my] soul; the lowest abyss encircled me; my head sank into the clefts of the mountains.
- 7) I have gone down into the earth, whose bars are everlasting barriers, yet let the corruption of my soul be restored, O Lord my God.
- 8) When my soul was forsaking within me, I remembered the Lord, and may my prayer come unto you into your holy temple.
- 9) [They who] regard foolishness and falsehoods have forsaken their mercy.
- 10) But I, with a voice of praise and confession, will sacrifice to you; as much as I have vowed, I will pay to you, the Lord of my salvation.

11) And he commanded the fish, and it cast out Jonah upon the dry ground.

Chapter 3

1) And the word of the Lord came unto Jonah a second time, saying,

2) Arise and go unto Nineveh, the great city and cry in it according to the former proclamation, which I spoke unto you.

3) And Jonah arose and went unto Nineveh, as the Lord had spoken. Now Nineveh was a great city unto God about a walking journey of three days.

4) And Jonah began to enter into the city about a journey of one day, and he cried and said, Yet three days and Nineveh shall be overthrown.

5) And the men of Nineveh believed God and proclaimed a fast and put on sackcloth from the greatest of them unto the least of them.

6) When the word reached the king of Nineveh he arose from his throne and he put away his robe from himself and put on sackcloth and sat upon ashes.

7) And proclamation was made and order given in Nineveh from the king and from his nobles, saying, Let not men and beasts, herds, and flocks taste anything nor feed nor drink water.

8) So the men and the beasts, were covered with sackcloth, and they cried out earnestly unto God; and each one turned away from his wicked way and from the wickedness of their

hands, saying,

9) Who knows but God will relent and turn away from his fierce anger and we not perish.

10) And God saw their works, that they turned from their wicked ways, and God relented at the evil which he said he would do to them, and did not do it.

Chapter 4

1) And Jonah was exceedingly grieved and confounded.

2) And he prayed unto the Lord and said, O Lord, were not these my words when I was in my country? For this I attempted to flee to Tarsis, for I knew that you [are] merciful and compassionate, long-suffering and abundant in pity, and repenting at evils.

3) And now, O Sovereign, take my life from me, for it is better for me to die than to live.

4) And the Lord said to Jonah, Are you greatly grieved?

5) Now Jonah had gone out of the city and sat over against the city, and had made for himself a booth and sat under it in the shade, until he should see what would befall the city.

6) And the Lord God commanded a gourd vine and it came up over Jonah's head to be a shade over his head to shade him from his sufferings; and Jonah was exceeding glad for the gourd vine.

7) But God ordered a worm the early morning of the morrow, and it smote the gourd vine and it dried up.

8) And it came to pass at the same time when the sun arose God ordered a scorching wind burning, and the sun smote upon the head of Jonah, and he fainted and he was renouncing his soul and said, It is better for me to die than to live.

9) And God said unto Jonah, Are you very grieved for the gourd vine? And he said, I am very grieved unto death.

10) And the Lord said, You have pity for the gourd vine, for which you have not toiled for it and you have not nourished it, which came up in a night and in a night perished.

11) And shall not I have compassion upon Nineveh, this great city, in which dwell more than 120,000 men who know not their right hand or their left; also many cattle?

APPENDIX B

THE WASHINGTON MANUSCRIPT JONAH¹

NOTES

The Washington Manuscript of the Minor Prophets (Greek MS V¹ in the Freer Collection of the Smithsonian Institution) was bought in Cairo in 1916. It formed a part of a purchase of manuscripts, chiefly Coptic, for Mr. Charles L. Freer and the J. Pierpont Morgan Library. They were received at the Library of the University of Michigan in May, 1920.

The date arrived at by Dr. Sanders for the original writing of the papyrus manuscript was between the middle and end of the third century A. D.²

The ink is dark brown and has faded little. There is little difference between the ink used by the first scribe and by the early correctors. A later hand or hands used an ink that was distinctly darker.³

The writing is a sloping uncial of the oval type with

¹Henry A. Sanders and Carl Schmidt, The Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection and the Berlin Fragment of Genesis (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927).

²Ibid., p. 12.

³Ibid., p. 10.

a decided leaning to the cursive, especially in linking of certain letters. Also at the ends of lines, when it was necessary to crowd a little, the scribe inclines more to cursive writing, but was striving to adapt his style to use for a book. This sloping hand is now recognized as possible even for literary purposes from the first century A.D. on.⁴

In so old a manuscript as this papyrus one may safely assume freedom from the influence of Origen as well as from the later editions. Even in the cases where the manuscript inclines toward the Hebrew in opposition to many of the Septuagint manuscripts, the type of text is almost never in accord with that reported for the Hexapla of Origen. In most such agreements there is either no evidence for the forms used by Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, or they have forms differing from this papyrus. In these readings, in which the first hand of W has little or no other Greek support, there are 33 instances of rather definite accommodation to the Hebrew text.⁵

In a comparison with the Coptic Versions, in a special list of readings, Dr. Sanders finds the Akhmimic supporting W 102 times, 15 of these the sole support. The Bohairic supports 84 times, 12 the sole support. The Sahidic agree 22 times, 2 of these the sole support. These Coptic Versions

⁴Ibid., p. 10, 11.

⁵Ibid., p. 25.

apparently came from the immediate home of W. Obviously it is not the influence of W on the Coptic in many of these cases, but of the Coptic on W and its allies.⁶ This may mean the direct influence of the earliest Coptic Version, which would thus have to be earlier than the middle of the third century. However, this influence may well have preceded the formal translation into Coptic.⁷

⁶Ibid., p. 39.

⁷Ibid.

TEXT

- I. 1 και εγενετο λογος κυ προς ιωνα τον του >
 2 αμαθει λεγων ανα[σ]τηθι και πορευθητι
 εις νινευη την πολιν την μεγαλην και >
 κηρυξον εν αυτη οτι ανεβη η κραυγη της
 3 κακιας αυτης προς με. και ανεστη ιω
 να του φυγειν εις θαρσεις και εδωκεν το
 ναυλον αυτου και ανεβη εις αυτο του πλεν
 σαι μετ αυτων εις θαρσεις εκ προσωπου
 4 κυ· και κς εξηγειρεν πανα εις την θαλ[ασ]
- [σα]ν κ[αι] εγενετο κλυδων μεγας εν τη θαλασ
 [σ]η· και το πλοιον εκινδυνευεν συντριβηναι
 5 [κ]αι εφοβηθησαν οι ναυτικοι κ[αι] ανεβοων
 εκαστος προς τον θν αυτων· [και εκβολην]
 εποιησαντο των σκευων τω[ν εν τω πλοιω]
 εις την θαλασσαν του κυ[φι]σθηνα[ι απ αυτων]
 ιωνας δε κατεβη εις τ[ην] κοιλην [του πλοι]
 6 ου και εκαθευδεν κ[α]ι ερ[εγ]χεν· και
 προσηλθεν προς αυτον ο πρωρευσ [και]
 ειπεν αυτω τι συ ρεγχεις αναστα [και επι]
 καλου τον θν σου· οπως διασωση ο [θς ημας]
 7 και μη απολωμεθα· και ειπαν εκαστ[ος]
 προς τον πλησιον αυτου δευτε βαλωμεν
 κληρους και επιγνωμεν τινος ενεκεν
 η κακια αυτη εστιν εν ημιν· και εβαλον
 κληρους· και επεσεν ο κληρος επι ιωνα·
 8 και ειπαν προς αυτον απαγγειλον ημιν
 τινος ενεκεν η κακια· αυτη τις σου η ερ
 γασια εστιν και ποθεν ερχη και εκ ποιας
 9 χωρας συ ει και εκ ποιου λαου συ ει και ει
 πεν προς αυτους· δουλος κυ εγω ειμι και

τον $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$ του ουρανου εγω σεβομαι ος
εποιησεν την θαλασσαν και την ξηραν
10 και εφοβηθησαν οι ανδρες φοβον $\overline{\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha}$
και ειπαν προς αυτον τι τουτο εποησας
διοτι επεγνωσαν οι ανδρες οτι εκ προ
σωπου $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ ην $\overline{\phi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omega\nu}$ · οτι απηγγειλεν
11 αυτοις και ειπαν προς αυτον τι σοι ποιη
σομεν και κοπασει η θαλασσα αφ ημῶ
οτι η θαλασσα επωρευετο και εξηγει
12 ρεν μαλλον κλυδωνα· και ειπεν $\overline{\iota\omega\nu\alpha}$
προς αυτους αρατε με και εμβαλετε με
εις την θαλασσαν· και κοπασει η θαλασ
σα αφ υμων· διοτι εγνωκα εγω οτι δι
> εμε ο κλυδων μεγας ουτος εφ υμας εστι·
13 και παρεβιαζοντο οι ανδρες του επιστρε
ψαι προς την γην· και ουκ ηδυναντο·
οτι η θαλασσα επορευετο και εξηγειρε
14 το μαλλον επ αυτους· και ανεβοησαν >
προς $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ και ειπαν· μηδαμως $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ μη >
απολωμεθα· ενεκεν της ψυχης του
 $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon}$ τουτου· και μη δως εφ ημας αιμα
δικαιον· οτι συ $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ ον τροπον εβουλου >
15 πεποιηκας· και ελαβον τον $\overline{\iota\omega\nu\alpha}$ και εξ
εβαλον αυτον εις την θαλασσαν και εστη
16 η θαλασσα εκ του σαλου αυτης· και εφοβη
θησαν οι ανδρες φοβω μεγαλω τον $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$
 $\overline{\kappa\alpha\iota}$ εθυσαν θυσιαν τω $\overline{\kappa\omega}$ και ηυξαντο

II. 1 [ευχας και προσε]ταξεν $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ [κτητει μεγαλω]
[καταπιει]ν τον $\overline{\iota\omega[\nu]\alpha}$ · και ην ιωνα ε[ν]
[τη κοιλια του] κητους τρεις ημερας και τρει[s]

- 2 [νυκτας και] προσηυξατο ιωνα προς $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ τον $[\overline{\theta\nu}]$
3 [αυτου εκ] της κοιλιας του κητους και ειπ[εν]
[εβοησα] εν $\overline{\theta\lambda\iota\psi\epsilon\iota}$ προς $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ τον $\overline{\theta\nu}$ μου. και
[ηκ]ουσεν μο[υ ε]κ κοιλιας αδου κραυγης
4 [μου] και ηκουσας φωνης μου· απερριψας
[με εις] βαθη καρ[δ]ιας θαλασσης· και ποταμοι
[με εκυ]κλωσαν παντες οι μετεωρισμοι σου
5 [και τα κ]υματα σου. επ· εμε διηλθον· και εγω
ειπα απωσμαι εξ οφθαλμων σου· αρα προσ
θησω του επιβλεψαι προς τον ναον τον $\overline{\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron}$
6 σου περιεχυθη $\overline{\upsilon\delta\omega\rho}$ μοι εως ψυχης α
βυσσος εκυκλωσεν με εσχατη· εδν η κε
7 φαλη μου εις σχισμας ορεων· κατεβην· εις
γην ης $\overline{\omicron\iota}$ μοχλοι αυτης κατοχοι αιωνιοι·
και αναβητω φθορα ζωης μου $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ ο $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$
8 μου εν τω εκλιπειν απ εμου την ψυχην.
μου του $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ εμνησθην· και ελθοι προς
9 σε η προσευχη μου εις ναον αλιον σου· φυ
λασσομενοι ματαια· και ψευδη. ελεος αυ
10 των εγκατελιπον· εγω δε μετα φωνης
δεησεως. και εξομολογησεως. θυσω σοι
οσα ηυξαμην· αποδωσω σοι εις σωτηρι
11 αν μου τω $\overline{\kappa\omega}$: και προσεταγη τω κη
τει και εξεβαλεν τον $\overline{\iota\omega\nu\alpha}$ επι την ξη
1 ραν· και εγενετο λογος $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ εκ δετου προς
2 $\overline{\iota\omega\nu\alpha}$ λεγων· αναστηθι και πορευθητι
εις νινευη την πολιν την μεγαλην· και
κηρυξον εν αυτη κατα το κηρυγμα το
εμπροσθεν· ο εγω ελαλησα προς σε>
3 και ανεστη $\overline{\iota\omega\nu\alpha\varsigma}$ και επορευθη εις νι
νευη. καθως ελαλησεν $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ · η δε νινευη
ην πολις μεγαλη τω $\overline{\theta\omega}$ ωσει πορειας

III.

- 4 οδου ημερων τριων· και ηρξατο ἴωνας
του εισελθειν εις την πολιν ωσει πορι
αν ημερας μιας· και εκηρυξεν ετι τρεις
ημερᾱι και νινευη καταστραφησεται·
5 και ενεπιστευσαν οι ανδρες νινευη τω
θῶ και εκηρυξαν νηστειαν και ενε
δυσαντο σακκους απο μεγαλου αυτων
6 εως μεικρου αυτων· και ηγγισεν ο λο
γος προς τον βασιλεα της νινευη· και
εξανεστη απο του θρονου αυτου και πε
ριελατο την στολην αυτου αφ εαυτου>
και περιεβαλετο σακκον· και εκαθισε[ν]
7 επι σποδον· και ερρεθη και εκηρυχθ[η]

31

- [εν] τη νινευ[η] π[α]ρα τ[ου] βα[σι]λε[ως] και παρα των
μεγιστανων αυτου λεγων ο[ι] ἄν[θρω]ποι και τα κτη
[ν]η και αι βοες· και τα προβατα [μη γευσασθω]
[σ]αν μηδεν μηδε νεμεσθω[σαν μηδεν μη]
8 [δε] υἱ[ος] ωρ πιετω[σ]αν· και περιεβα[λοντο] σακκους
[οι] ἄν[θρω]ποι· και τα κτηνη· κ[α]ι ἀνέβη[σαν] προς τον
[θῶ] εκτενωσ· και απεστρεψαν εκαστος απ[ο]
[της] οδου αυτου της πονηρας και απο της
[α]δικιας της εν ταις χερσιν αυτων· λεγον
9 [τ]ες τις οιδεν ει μετανοησει ο θ[ς] και απο
στρεψει εξ οργης θυμου αυτου και ου μη [απο]
10 λωμεθα· και ειδεν ο θ[ς] τα εργα αυτων [οτι]
απεστρεψαν εκαστος απο των οδων αυ
των· των πονηρων· και μετενοησεν
ο θ[ς] επι τα κακα α ελαλησεν του ποιη
IV. 1 σαι αυτοις· και ουκ εποιησεν· και ελυπη
θη ἴωνα λυπην μεγαλην· και συνεθυ

- 2 μῆσεν· και προσευξάτο και ειπεν προς
κν̄ και ειπεν ω κ̄ε ουχ ουτοι οι λογοι>
μου· ετι ουτος μου εν τη γη μου· δια τουτο
προεφθασα του φυγειν εις θαρσεις διο
τι εγνων οτι συ ει ελεημων και οικτειρ
μων μακροθυμος και πολυελεος και με
3 τανων επι ταις κακιαις· και νυν δεσπο
τα κ̄ε λαβε την ψυχην μου απ εμου οτι
4 καλον το αποθανειν η ζην με· και ειπ̄
κς̄ προς ἴωνα· ει σφοδρα λελυπησαι συ·
5 και εξηλθεν ἴωνας εκ της πολεως και
εκαθισεν απεναντι της πολεως και>
εποιησεν εαυτω εκει σκηνην και εκα
θητο υποκατω αυτης· εν σκιαί· ἕως ου
6 αφίδη τί εσται τη πολει· και προσεταξεν
κς̄ ο θς̄ κολοκυνθη· και ανεβη υπερ κε
φαλῆς του ἴωνα του ειναι σκιαν υπερ
ανω κεφαλῆς αυτου του σκια[ζ]ειν αυτω
απο των κακων αυτου· και εχαρη· ἴωνα
7 επι τη κολοκυνθη χαραν μεγαλην· και
προσεταξεν ο θς̄ σκωληκι εωθινη τη
επαυριον και επαταξεν την κολοκυνθαν
8 και απεξηρανθη· και εγενετο αμα τω ανα
τειλαι τον ηλιον και προσεταξεν κς̄ ο θς̄
πνῑ καυσωνος συνκαιοντι· και επαταξ̄
ο ηλιος επι την κεφαλην ἴωνα και ωλι
γοψυχη[σ]εν· και απελεγετο την ψυχην
αυτου· και ειπεν καλον μοι αποθανειν
9 η ζην· και ειπεν ο θς̄ προς ἴωνα ει σφο
[δρα λελυπη]σαι συ επι τη κολοκυνθη κ[αί]

- [ειπεν σφο]δρα [λελυπημαι] εγω εως θ[ανατου]
 10 [και ειπ]εν κς̄ συ εφεισω υπερ της κ[ολο]
 [κυνθης] υπερ ης ουκ εκακοπαθησ[ας επ]
 [αυτην] και ουκ εξεθρεψας αυτην· η [εγε]
 11 [νηθη] υπο νυκτα απω[λ]ετο εγω δε [ου]
 [φεισομαι] υπερ νινευη της πολεω[ς της]
 μεγαλης εν η κατοικουσιν πλειου[ς η]
 δωδεκα μυριαδες ανων̄ οιτινες ο[υκ]
 εγνωσαν αριστεραν αυτων η δεξι[αν αυ]
 των̄ και κτηνη π[ο]λλα — ΙΩΝΑΣ

APPENDIX C

THE JONATHAN TARGUM JONAH¹

NOTES

The basic text is according to Ms. Or. 2211 of the British Museum. The final leaves of Ms. Or. 2211 are very poorly preserved, the thus resulting lacunae were spelled and/or vocalized according to Ms. Or. 1474 of the British Museum.

This text is established from (1) Ms. Or. 2211, Or. 1474, Or. 1473, Or. 1470 of the British Museum, (2) Ms. p. 116 of the Montefiore Library, Jews' College, London, (3) Codex Reuchlinianus of the Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, Germany, (4) Printed Editions: The First Rabbinic Bible, Bomberg, Venice, 1515/17; The Second Rabbinic (The First Masoretic) Bible, Bomberg, Venice, 1524/5; The Antwerp Polyglot Bible, 1569/73, and (5) Targum Quotations from the works of five early authors (Aruk of R. Nathan, Cunash ben Labrat, Yonah ibn Ganah, Rashi and Kimhi).

¹Alexander Sperber, ed., The Bible in Aramaic, vol. III, The Latter Prophets According to Targum Jonathan (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962).

TEXT

1 וְהָיָה פִתְגָם גְּבוּלָהּ מִן קֶדֶם יוֹי עִם יוֹנָה בֶּר אֲמָתִי לְמִימָר: 2 קוּם
 אִיזִיל לַיּוֹנָה קָרְתָּא רִבְתָּא וְאַתְגְּבִי עָלֶה אֲרִי סְלִיקָת בִּישְׁתָּהוֹן לִקְדָּמִי:
 3 וְקָם יוֹנָה לְמַעַרְק לֵימָא מִן קֶדֶם דִּיתְנָבִי בִשְׁמָא דִּיּוֹי וְנַחַת לִיפּוֹ וְאַשְׁכַּח אֲלֹפָא
 דְּאֹלָא בִימָא וִיהֵב אֲגָרָה וְנַחַת בָּהּ לְמִיעֵל עֲמָהוֹן לֵימָא מִן קֶדֶם דִּיתְנָבִי בִשְׁמָא
 דִּיּוֹי: 4 וַיּוֹי אֲרִים רוּחַ עַל יָמָא וְהָיָה נַחְשׁוֹל רַב בִּימָא וְאַלְפָא בְּעִיא לְאִיתְבָּרָא:
 5 וְדַחִילוֹ סִפְנִיא וּבִעּו גִבְר מִן דְּחִלְתִּיהּ וְחֻזוֹ אֲרִי לִית בָּהוֹן צְרוּךְ וּרְמוֹ יָת מְנִיא
 דְּבִאֲלֹפָא לֵימָא לְאַקְלָא מְנָהוֹן וַיּוֹנָה נַחַת לְאַרְעִית שְׂדָא דְּבִאֲלֹפָא וּשְׁכִיב וּדְמוּךְ:
 6 וְקָרִיב לִוְתִּיהּ רַב סִפְנִיא וְאָמַר לִיה מָא אַתְּ דְּמוּךְ קוּם צְלִי קֶדֶם אֱלֹהֶךָ מָא אִם
 יִתְרַחֵם מִן קֶדֶם יוֹי עֲלֵנָא וְלֹא נִיבֵד: 7 וְאַמְרוּ גִבְר לְחַבְרִיָּה אֵיתוֹ וְנִרְמִי עֲדָבִין
 וְנִידַע בְּדִיל מִן בִּשְׁתָּא הָדָא לָנָא וּרְמוֹ עֲדָבִין וְנָפַל עֲדָבָא עַל יוֹנָה: 8 וְאַמְרוּ
 לִיה חֻזִּי כְעֵן לָנָא בְּדִיל מָא בִּשְׁתָּא הָדָא לָנָא מָא עֲבִידְתָּךְ וּמִנֵּן אַתְּ אֱלֹהֵי אֵידָא
 הִיא מְדִינְתָךְ וְאִי מְדִין עֲמָא אַתְּ: 9 וְאָמַר לַהוֹן יְהוּדָאָה אֲנָא וּמִן קֶדֶם יוֹי אֱלֹהֵא
 דְּשָׁמְיָא אֲנָא דְּחִיל דְּעִבְדִּי יָת יָמָא וִית יִבְשְׁתָּא: 10 וְדַחִילוֹ גִבְרִיא דְּחִלָּא רַבָּא
 וְאַמְרוּ לִיה מָא דָּא עֲבַדְתָּא אֲרִי יִדְעוּ גִבְרִיא אֲרִי מִן קֶדֶם דִּיתְנָבִי בִשְׁמָא דִּיּוֹי
 הוּא עָרִיק אֲרִי לַהוֹן: 11 וְאַמְרוּ לִיה מָא נְעִבִיד לָךְ וַיּוֹנָה יָמָא מְנָא אֲרִי
 יָמָא אִזִּיל וְנַחְשׁוּלִיהּ תְּקִיף: 12 וְאָמַר לַהוֹן סְבוּנִי וּרְמוֹנִי לֵימָא וַיּוֹנָה יָמָא מְנָכּוֹן
 אֲרִי יִדַע אֲנָא אֲרִי בְּדִילִי נַחְשׁוּלָא רַבָּא הֵדִין עֲלִיכּוֹן: 13 וְשִׁטְיִן גִּבְרִיא לְאַתְבָּא
 לִיבְשְׁתָּא וְלֹא יָכֻלִין אֲרִי יָמָא אִזִּיל וְנַחְשׁוּלִיהּ תְּקִיף עֲלִיהוֹן: 14 וְצִלְיוֹ קֶדֶם
 יוֹי וְאַמְרוּ קָבִיל בְּעוּתָנָא יוֹי לֹא כְעֵן נִיבֵד בְּחוּבָת נִפְשִׁיהּ דְּגִבְרָא הֵדִין וְלֹא תִתִּין
 עֲלֵנָא חוּבָת דֵּם וְכִי אֲרִי אַתְּ יוֹי כִּמָּא דְּרַעוּא קֶדְמָךְ עֲבַדְתָּא: 15 וְנִסִּיבּוּ יָת
 יוֹנָה וּרְמוֹהִי לֵימָא וְנַח יָמָא מְנַחְשׁוּלִיהּ: 16 וְדַחִילוֹ גִבְרִיא דְּחִלָּא רַבָּא מִן
 קֶדֶם יוֹי וְאַמְרוּ לְדַבְחָא דִּיבַח קֶדֶם יוֹי וְנִדְרוֹ נִדְרִין:
 1 וְחֲמִין יוֹי נוֹנָא רַבָּא לְמַבְלַע יָת יוֹנָה וְהָיָה יוֹנָה בְּמַעִיא דְּנוֹנָא תִּלְתָּה יוֹמִין
 וְתִלְתָּה לַיְלֹוֹן: 2 וְצִלְיִי יוֹנָה קֶדֶם יוֹי אֱלֹהֵיהּ מְמַעִיא דְּנוֹנָתָא: 3 וְאַמְרוּ
 צִלְיָתִי מַדְעָקָת לִי קֶדֶם יוֹי וְקָבִיל צִלּוֹתִי מְאַרְעִית תְּהוּמָא בְּעִיתִי עֲבַדְתָּא בְּעוּתִי:
 4 וּרְמִיתָנִי לְעוּמְקִיא בְּלִיבָא דֵימָא וְנַהֲרָא סְחֹר סְחֹר לִי כָּל נַחְשׁוּלוֹהִי דֵימָא
 וְגִלּוּהִי עָלַי עָדּוּ: 5 וְאַנָּא אֲמַרִית אֲתִרְכִּית מִן קֶדֶם מִימָרְךָ בְּרִם אוֹסִיף
 לְאַסְתְּכִלָּא בְּהִיכְלָא דְּקוּדְשֶׁךָ: 6 אֶקְפוּנִי מִיָּא עַד מוּתָא תְּהוּמָא סְחֹר סְחֹר
 לִי יָמָא דְּסוּף תִּלִּי עֵיל מְרִישִׁי: 7 לַעֲקָרִי טוּרִיא נַחְתִּית אֲרַעָא נִגְדַת בְּתוּקְפָהָא
 עֵיל מְנִי עֲלָמִין וְאַתְּ קָרִיב קֶדְמָךְ לְאַסְקָא מַחְכִּלָא חִיִּי יוֹי אֱלֹהֵי: 8 בְּאַשְׁתְּלֵהִיּוֹת
 עָלַי נִפְשִׁי פּוֹלְחָנָא דִּיּוֹי אִידְכָרִית וְעֵלָת לִקְדָּמְךָ צִלּוֹתִי לְהִיכְלָא דְּקוּדְשֶׁךָ:
 9 לֹא כְעַמְמִיא פִּלְחִי טַעוּתָא דְּמֵאֲתָר דְּמִתּוּטָב לַהוֹן לִית אֲנוּן יִדְעִין: 10 וְאַנָּא

בְּקֵל תּוֹשַׁבְתָּהּ אֲוֹדָאָה קוֹרְבָנִי אֶקְרִיב קָדְמְךָ דְּנִדְרִית אֲשֵׁלִים פּוֹרֶקֶן נַפְשִׁי בְּצִלוֹ
קֳדָם יְיָ: 11 וְאָמַר יְיָ לִנְאֻם וּפָלַט יְת' יוֹנָה לִיבִשְׁתָּא:

א 1 וְהָיָה פִתְגָם נְבוֹאָה מִן קֳדָם יְיָ עִם יוֹנָה תְּנִינֹת לְמִימָר: 2 קוּם אִיזִיל
לְנִינְיָה קָרְתָּא רַבְתָּא וְאַתְנָבִי עָלָה יְת' נְבוֹאָתָא דְאָנָא מִמְלִיל עִמָּךְ: 3 וְקָם
יוֹנָה וְאָזַל לְנִינְיָה כְּפִתְגָמָא דִּינִי וְנִינְיָה הָיָה קָרְתָּא רַבְתָּא קֳדָם יְיָ מְהֵלֵךְ תְּלִיתָה
יוֹמִין: 4 וְשָׂרִי יוֹנָה לְמִיַּעַל בְּקָרְתָּא מְהֵלֵךְ יוֹמָא חָד וְאַכְרִיז וְאָמַר בְּסוּף
אַרְבַּעִין יוֹמִין וְנִינְיָה מִתְּהַפְכָּא: 5 וְהִימִינוּ אַנְשֵׁי נִינְיָה בְּמִימָרָא דִּינִי וְגִזְרוּ צוּמָא
וּלְבִשׁוּ סָקִין מִרְבָּחוֹן וְעַד זְעִירָחוֹן: 6 וּמִטָּא פִתְגָמָא לָלוֹת מִלְכָּא דְנִינְיָה וְקָם
מִכּוֹרְסֵי מְלָכוּתֵיהּ וְאַעֲדִי לַבּוֹשׁ יִקְרִיהּ מְנִיָּה וְאַתְכֹּסִי סָקָא וְיִתִּיב עַל קִטְמָא:
7 וְאַכְרִיז וְאָמַר בְּנִינְיָה מְגִירָת מִלְכָּא וְרַבְרָבְנוּהִי לְמִימָר אַנְשָׁא וּבְעִירָא תּוֹרִי
וְעָנָא לֹא יִטְעֲמוֹן מִדְּעָם לֹא יִרְעוּן וּמִיָּא לֹא יִשְׁתּוּן: 8 וְיִתְכַסּוּן סָקִין אַנְשָׁא
וּבְעִירָא וְיִצְלוּן קֳדָם יְיָ בְּתַקּוּף וְיִתּוּבוּן גְּבַר מְאֹרְחֵיהּ בִּשְׁתָּא וּמִן חֲטָפָא
דְּבִידִיָּהוֹן: 9 מִן יָדַע דְּאִית בִּידֵיהּ חֻבּוּן יִתּוּב מִנְהוֹן וְיִתְרַחֵם עָלָנָא מִן קֳדָם
יְיָ וְיִתּוּב מִתְּקוּף רֻגְזִיָּה וְלֹא נִיבְד: 10 וְגִלָן קֳדָם יְיָ עוֹבְדֵיהוֹן אֲרִי תְבוּ
מִיֹּאֲרַחְתָּהוֹן בִּשְׁתָּא וְתִב יְיָ מִן בִּשְׁתָּא דְמִלְיָל לְמַעַבְדִּי לַחוֹן וְלֹא עֲבָד:

ב 1 וּבְאִישׁ לִיוֹנָה בִּישָׁא רַבָּא וְתַקִּיף לִיָּה: 2 וְצָלִי קֳדָם יְיָ וְאָמַר קָבִיל
בְּעוֹתִי יְיָ הֲלֹא דִין פִּתְגָמִי עַד דְּהוּיְתִי קָיִים עַל אֲרַעִי עַל כִּין אוֹהֵינִי לְמַעַרְק
לִימָא אֲרִי יָדַענָא אֲרִי אֵת אֱלֹהָא חֲנָנָא וְרַחֲמָנָא מְרַחֵק רְגוּ וּמִסְגִּי לְמַעַבְדִּי טְבוּן
וּמִתִּיב מִימְרֵיהּ מְלֹאֲיָתָא בִּישָׁא: 3 וּכְעָן יְיָ סָב כְּעָן יְת' נַפְשִׁי מִנִּי אֲרִי טָב
דְּאִמּוֹת מִדְּאִיָּהִי: 4 וְאָמַר יְיָ הֲלַחְדָּא תְּקוּף לִךְ: 5 וּנְפֹק יוֹנָה מִן קָרְתָּא
וְיִתִּיב מִמְדִּנָּח לְקָרְתָּא וְעַבְד לִיָּה תִמָּן מִטְלָתָא וְיִתִּיב תְּחוּתָהּ בְּטוּלָא עַד דִּיחֻזִּי
מָא יִהִי בְּסוּף קָרְתָּא: 6 וְזָמִין יְיָ אֱלֹהִים קִיקְיוֹן וְסִלְיָק עִיל מִן יוֹנָה לְמַהוּי
טוּלָא עַל רִישִׁיהּ לֹאֲגָנָא לִיָּה מִבְּשִׁתִּיהּ וְחָדִי יוֹנָה עַל קִיקְיוֹן חֲדוּא רַבָּא: 7 וְזָמִין
יְיָ תּוֹלַעְתָּא בְּמִיֶּסֶק צִפְרָא דִּיּוֹמָא דְּבִתְרוּהִי וּמַחַת יְת' קִיקְיוֹן וּבִישָׁא: 8 וְהָיָה
כְּמִדְּנָח שְׂמֶשׁא וְזָמִין יְיָ רוּחַ קִידוּמָא שְׁתִּיקָתָא וְטַפְחָת שְׂמֶשׁא עַל רִישָׁא דִּיּוֹנָה
וְאַשְׁתְּלֵהִי וְשָׂאִיל יְת' נַפְשִׁיהּ לְמַמַּת וְאָמַר טָב דְּאִמּוֹת מִדְּאִיָּהִי: 9 וְאָמַר יְיָ
לִיוֹנָה הֲלַחְדָּא תְּקוּף לִךְ עַל קִיקְיוֹן וְאָמַר לְחֲדָא תְּקוּף לִי עַד מוֹתָא: 10 וְאָמַר
יְיָ אֵת חֲסִתָּא עַל קִיקְיוֹן דְּלֹא עֲמִלְתָּא בֵּיהּ וְלֹא רַבִּיתְהִי דִּי בְּלִילִיָּא הֲדִין הוּא
וּבְלִילִיָּא אוֹחְרָנָא אֲבָד: 11 וְאָנָא לֹא אָחוּס עַל נִינְיָה קָרְתָּא רַבְתָּא דְּאִית בָּהּ
סִגִּי מִתְרָתָא עֲסָרִי רַבּוּ אַנְשָׁא דְּלֹא יָדַע בֵּין יְמִינֵיהּ לְסַמָּאֵלִיהּ וּבְעִירָא סִגִּי:

TRANSLATION

Chapter 1

- 1) And the word of prophecy came from the Lord unto Jonah the son of Amittai saying,
- 2) Arise, go to Nineveh that great city and prophecy against it, for their evil has come up before me.
- 3) And Jonah arose to flee unto the sea from prophesying in the name of the Lord. And he descended to Joppa and he found a ship which was going by sea. And he gave his payment and descended into it to go with them to the sea from prophesying in the name of the Lord.
- 4) And the Lord cast a wind onto the sea and there was a great storm in the sea and the ship desired to be broken.
- 5) And the sailors were afraid and [each] man entreated from his god, for they saw that there was not in them any good (usefulness) and they cast the vessels which [were] in the ship into the sea to lighten [it] from them; but Jonah was gone [down] to the bottom of the side of the ship, and was lying down and sleeping.
- 6) And the chief of the ship came unto him and said, What is to you, sleeping? Arise, pray before your God; what if compassion is shown from the Lord unto us and we not perish.
- 7) And they said, a man to his companion, Come, and let us cast lots and let us know for whose account this evil [is] to us. And they cast lots and the lot fell upon Jonah.
- 8) And they said unto him, Tell now to us on account of what

[is] this evil to us? What is your occupation, and from where [are] you come? Which is your country, and of which people are you?

9) And he said unto them, A Jew am I and from before the Lord God of the heavens I fear, who made the sea and the dry land.

10) Then the men feared a great fear and said unto him, What is this you have done? For the men knew that from prophesying in the name of the Lord he was fleeing, for he had told them.

11) And they said unto him, What shall we do unto you that the sea may be still from us? for the sea walked and the storm [was] violent.

12) And he said to them, Take me and cast me into the sea and the sea will be still from you, for I know that on my account this great storm is upon you.

13) But the men rowed to return to the land, but they were not able for the sea surged and the storm was great upon them.

14) They prayed before the Lord and said, Hear our petition O Lord, Let us not perish on the debt of the life of this man, and do not put upon us the debt of innocent blood, for you, O Lord, according to your will, you have done.

15) So they took Jonah and cast him into the sea and the sea ceased from its storm.

16) Then the men feared a great fear before the Lord and they commanded to sacrifice a sacrifice before the Lord and

they vowed vows.

Chapter 2

- 1) And the Lord appointed a great fish to swallow Jonah, and Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights.
- 2) And Jonah prayed before the Lord his God from the belly of the fish,
- 3) And he said, I prayed because of my anguish before the Lord, and he heard my prayer; from the bottom of the abyss I entreated and you heard my entreaty.
- 4) For you did cast me into the depths, into the heart of the sea, and the river encircled me about; all the storms of the sea and its waves over me passed.
- 5) Then I said, I was driven out from your self; nevertheless I will again look to your holy temple.
- 6) The waters surrounded me unto the death; the abyss encircled me about; the seaweed hung about my head.
- 7) To the roots of the mountains I descended; the earth drew its bars over me forever; yet you have brought my life before you from corruption, O Lord my God.
- 8) When my soul fainted within me the worship of the Lord I remembered, and my prayer came up to your presence, to your holy temple.
- 9) Not like people, servants of idols, who do not know the place of their well-being.
- 10) But I with a voice of praise [and] thanksgiving, my

sacrifice I will present before you; what I have vowed I will pay; redemption [of] my soul [is] in prayer before the Lord.

11) And the Lord spoke unto the fish and it vomited Jonah upon the dry land.

Chapter 3

1) And the word of Prophecy came from the Lord unto Jonah a second [time], saying,

2) Arise, go to Nineveh that great city, and prophecy unto it the prophecy which I spoke unto you.

3) And Jonah arose and went unto Nineveh according to the word of the Lord. Now Nineveh was a great city before the Lord, a walking journey of three days.

4) And Jonah began to go up into the city a walking journey of one day, and he proclaimed and said, In [the] end of forty days, then Nineveh will be overturned.

5) And the men of Nineveh believed the Word of the Lord, and they decreed the fast and put on sackcloth, from the great of them even unto the small of them.

6) And the word reached unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from the throne of his kingdom, and he removed the robe of honor from him and he covered himself [with] sackcloth and he sat upon the ashes.

7) And he caused to be proclaimed and he commanded in Nineveh, from the decree of the king and his noblemen, saying, Man or beast, cattle or sheep, let them not taste anything, let them not feed nor drink water;

8) But with sackcloth let be covered man and beast, and cry before the Lord in strength, and let [every] man turn from his way of wickedness and from the violence that is in their hands.

9) He who knows that there is in his hands debts, let him turn from them that mercy may be shown unto us from the Lord, that he may turn away from his violent anger, and we not perish.

10) And their works were revealed before the Lord, that they turned from their ways of wickedness, and the Lord turned from the evil that he had spoken to do [to] them, and did [it] not.

Chapter 4

1) But it was displeasing unto Jonah, a great displeasure and he was very angry.

2) And he prayed unto the Lord and said, Accept my entreaty, O Lord, [Was] not this my word while I was living in my country? Therefore I hastened to flee unto the sea for I knew that you [are] a God of mercy and compassion, putting away anger and multiplying to make goodnesses and turning the words from bringing to pass evil.

3) And now, O Lord, take now my life from me, for it is better that I die than that I live.

4) And the Lord said, Are you very angry?

5) So Jonah went out from the city and sat on the east of the city, and he made for himself there a shade and he sat

under it in the shade until he might see what would happen in the end [of] the city.

6) And the Lord God appointed a gourd-vine to come up over Jonah to be a shade over his head to cover him from his misery. And Jonah was glad upon the gourd-vine, a great gladness.

7) But the Lord appointed a worm in the ascending of the dawn of the day after, and it stung the gourd-vine and it withered.

8) And it came to pass as the sun arose that the Lord appointed a silent east wind and the sun struck upon the head of Jonah that he fainted and he wished [in] his soul to die, and he said, It is better that I die than that I live.

9) And the Lord said unto Jonah, Are you very angry over the gourd-vine. And he said, It is excessively angry to me, unto death.

10) And the Lord said, you have had pity upon the gourd-vine for which you have not labored, nor have you made it to grow, which in this night it was, and in another night it perished.

11) Shall I not have pity upon Nineveh, that great city, which in it are more than twelve myriad persons who do not know between their right and their left, and much cattle.

APPENDIX D

THE OLD LATIN JONAH¹

NOTES

The earliest evidence of Old Latin² texts of the Bible appear from about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. in southern Gaul and northern Africa, for Tertullian (born in Carthage about 160 A.D.) seems to have employed a written Latin translation of the Bible of which the language was definitely different from his own.³

The language of the Old Latin version was not the literary language of that time, but the lingua vulgaris, the language of teaching and instruction.⁴ The Old Latin repre-

¹The text used was Codex Weing., edited and published by Osterley, "The Old Latin Texts of the Minor Prophets. III," Journal of Theological Studies, V (1904), pp. 378-381. I have not been able to trace the actual identification of Codex Weing.

²Called Vetus Latina, to distinguish it from Jeromé's later Latin Vulgate.

³Ernest Würthwein, The Text of the Old Testament, P. R. Ackroyd, tr. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), p. 62.

⁴Bleddyn J. Roberts, The Old Testament Text and Versions (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1951), p. 243.

sents the pre-Hexaplaric text of the Septuagint,⁵ which in turn seems to rest on the Hebrew prior to its revision by Jewish scholars in the 2nd century A.D., and may therefore sometimes be a direct witness to the original Hebrew.⁶

The basic problem of Old Latin research is whether one is dealing with a single original translation or with several. Various statements by the Fathers suggest several translations. Some scholars feel they have definitely distinguished an African type and a European type, the European being further sub-divided.⁷ Apart from these two

⁵For an excellent discussion of early Greek Biblical manuscripts found at Qumrân, and their bearing on early Hebrew traditions, read Frank Moore Cross, "The History of the Biblical text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert," The Harvard Theological Review, LVII (October 1964), pp. 281-99. Also, in The Ancient Library of Qumrân (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., 1958), p. 21, F.M. Cross says: "The most important text. . . no doubt, is a manuscript of the Minor Prophets in Greek, a lost recension of the Septuagint, the Old Greek version of the third-second centuries B.C. When combined with three 'standard' Septuagint manuscripts from Cave IV, Qumrân, this newly found recension will place textual critics in a much improved position to reconstruct the early history of the text of the Septuagint." The above Greek Minor Prophets manuscript was found in a cave in a not precisely fixed locality south of Wadi Murabba'at. The transcription of the Jonah Fragments from this Greek Manuscript is published by Dominique Barthélemy in Supplements to Vestus Testamentum, X (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963), pp. 170-71, with a comparison of the manuscript with the Coptic versions, pp. 228-38, and with the Washington Manuscript, pp. 239-45. The present writer would have liked to compare the Old Latin of Jonah with this new Greek manuscript, but time has not permitted it in the present study.

⁶A. W. Adams, "The Old Latin Version," The Bible Translator, V (July 1954), p. 103.

⁷Ernest Würthwein, Op. Cit., p. 62.

major types, there are traces of still another, which probably had its origin in Italy. This is found in quotations by Augustine,⁸ who often distinguishes between the Itala and other Latin translations.⁹ The name Old Latin must therefore be regarded as a general term rather than as the name of an individual text. A number of scholars have suggested that possibly the Old Latin version, as we know it, had its predecessor(s) in Latin translations current in Africa before the arrival there of Christianity, which were later taken over by the Christian Church; that is, that they were originally translated from Hebrew.¹⁰ Perhaps the Hebrew material of the Minor Prophets from Qumrân will aid in this phase of the study when it is published.¹¹

The Old Latin does not survive in complete manuscripts. We have rather to gather the material from fragmentary manuscripts, from liturgical books, quotations by the Fathers in commentaries, sermons and letters. The Benedictine Pierre

⁸Bleddyn J. Roberts, Op. Cit., p. 242.

⁹Ernest Würthwein, Op. Cit., p. 62

¹⁰Bleddyn J. Roberts, Op. Cit., p. 238, cites H. F. D. Sparks, "The Latin Bible," The Bible in its Ancient and English Versions, H. Wheeler Robinson, ed. (Oxford: 1940), p. 101.

¹¹In correspondence with Frank Moore Cross, Dr. Cross has told me there are materials from the book of Jonah, a few fragments of two manuscripts. They are being prepared for publication by Monsignor Patrick W. Skehan of the Catholic University of America.

Sabatier (1682-1742) gathered together the material then known in Biblorum sacrorum latinae versiones (1739-49). Sabatier prints in one column the most complete text of the Old Latin which he could find for each section, then the Vulgate, and various additional material for Old Latin in the notes.

A series of unpublished Old Latin texts of the Old Testament was collected by S. Berger in Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres Bibliothèques, Tome 34, II (1893), pp. 119-52.

Besides these two collections one finds references to the following manuscripts:

a) Konstanzer altlateinische Propheten- und Evangelienbruchstücke mit Glossen, arranged by P. Alban Dold (1923). This is a complete edition and examination of the fragments of a manuscript of the Prophets, formerly in Constance, probably written in the 5th century in Northern Italy, which came to light in the binding of 26 parchment manuscripts from 1856 onwards. It contains fragments of Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Jonah, Nahum, Ezekiel and Daniel.

b) The Würzburg Codex, a palimpsest first published by Ernst Ranke, Par palimpsestorum Würceburgensium (1871). The lower writing belongs to the 5th century (probably from the center of eastern France) and contains fragments of the Pentateuch and of the Prophets.

c) Codex Lugdunensis, in the city Library of Lyons.

Editions of this are: U. Robert, Pentateuchi versio latina antiquissiam e codice Lugdunesi (1881); Heptateuchi partis posterioris versio latina antiquissima e codice (1900). An uncial of the 7th century, probably written in Lyons. The manuscript contains parts of Genesis 16:9 to Judges 20:31.

d) Codex Gothicus Legionensis, Léon, S. Isidoro. A Vulgate from the year 960. This contains numerous Old Latin readings in the margin by the same hand. Of the Old Testament it covers the Heptateuch, I and II Samuel, I and II Kings and Chronicles.

e) Palimpsestus Vindobonensis, since 1919 in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples. The lower writing belongs to the 5th century, probably from Italy. Parts of Genesis, Exodus and Leviticus survive.¹²

¹²The data for a-e was taken from Ernst Würthwein, Op. Cit., pp. 63-4. Although these manuscripts cover more than the Minor Prophets, and some do not contain the Minor Prophets at all, since the material for the Old Latin Version (s) is so scanty, the writer feels that any serious study of the Old Latin would include all this material.

TEXT

(1:14-4:11)

- I. 14 ¹⁴ [Ced. Weing.] animam hominis
huius: et ne des super nos sanguinem eius iustum: quia tu dñe. quem
15 admodum volisti fecisti: ¹⁵ Et acceperunt ionan: et miserunt eum
16 in mare: et stetit mare a violentia sua: ¹⁶ et timuerunt viri timore
magno dñm.: et immolaverunt hostias dñmō. et vota voverunt:
- II. 1 ¹ Et praecepit dñs. ceto magno ut gluttiret ionan: et erat ionan
2 in ventre ceti tribus noctibus: ² Et oravit ionas de ventre ceti ad
3 dñm. dñm. suum: ³ et dixit Clamavi ad dñm. dñm. meum in tribulatione
mea: et exaudivit me de ventre inferni clamoris mei exaudi
4 vocem meam: ⁴ proiecisti me in altitudinem cordis maris: et fluctus tui: et flumina
me circumierunt: omnia turbulenta tua: et fluctus tui: super me
5 transierunt: ⁵ et ego dixi: expulsus sum ab oculis tuis: forsitan
6 apponam ut respiciam in templum sanctum tuum: ⁶ perfusa est
aqua mihi usque ad animam: abyssus circumivit me: postremo demersit
7 caput meum in fissuras montium: ⁷ et descendi in terram cuius
vectes sunt continentes aeternae: et ascendat corruptio vitae meae:
8 ad te dñe. dñs. meus: ⁸ in hoc quod defecerit anima mea a meo
dñm. mei memoratus sum: et veniat ad te oratio mea in templum
9 sanctum tuum: ⁹ custodiētes vana et falsa misericordiam suam
10 dereliquerunt: ¹⁰ ego autem cum voce laudis et confessionis super
11 tibi: quaecumque vovi reddam tibi salvatori meo domino ¹¹ Et
praeceptum est ceto et eiecit ionan in aridam
- III. 1, 2 ¹ Et factum est verbum dñi. ad ionan iterum dicens ² Surge et
vade in *nineven* civitatem magnam: et praedica in eam: secundum
3 praedicationem priorem: quam ego palam locutus sum ad te ³ Et
surrexit ionas et abiit in nineven civitatem: sicut locutus est ad eum
dñs. nineven autem erat civitas magna dñō. quasi itinere viae dierum
4 trium: ⁴ et coepit ionas introire in civitatem: quasi itinere unius
diei: et praedicavit et dixit: adhuc triduum et ninive civitas evertetur
5: ⁵ Et crediderunt viri ninevitarum in dñō.: et praedicaverunt ieiunium: et
6 induerunt se cilicium a maiore usque ad minorem eorum: ⁶ et
pervenit verbum ad regem nineves: et exsurrexit de throno suo et
posuit vestem suam ab se: et operuit se cilicium et sedit cinerem:
7: ⁷ et praedicatum est in nineve: a rege et a maioribus civitatis eius
dicens: homines et iumenta: et boves et oves non gustent quicquam:
8 neque pascantur neque aquam bibant ⁸ et cooperuerunt se cilicia

civitatem : et fecit ipse sibi tabernaculum : et sedebat sub ipso in
6 umbram : donec videret quid accideret civitati : ⁶ Et praecepit dñs.
dñs. cucurbitae : et ascendit super caput ionae ut esset umbra super
caput eius : et obumbraret eum a malis eius : et gavisus est ionas super
7 cucurbitam gaudio magno : ⁷ et praecepit dñs. vermi antelucano in
8 crastinum et percussit cucurbitam : et arefacta est : ⁸ et factum est
confestim oriente sole : et praecepit dñs. spiri . . . [Cod. Wirceb.]
. . . ustionis comburenti Et percussit sol super caput ionae
et interestuabat et deficiebat anima eius et dixit bonum est mihi
9 mori quam vivere ⁹ Et dixit dñs. ad ionam si valde contristatus es
tu super cucurbitam et dixit valde contristatus sum ego usque
10 ad mortem ¹⁰ Et dixit dñs. tu pepercisti super cucurbitam in qua
non laborasti in eam neque nutristi eam que sub nocte nata est et
11 sub nocte perit ¹¹ ego autem non parcam nunc parcam ninevem
civitatem magnam in qua commorantur plus quam cxx milia
hominum quae non scierunt dextram aut sinistram et pecora multa
homines : et proclamaverunt homines et iumenta ad dñm. vehementer :
et reversi sunt unusquisque de via sua maligna : et iniusta quae erat in
9 manibus eorum : et dixerunt : ⁹ quis scit si paenitebitur dñs. et avertit
10 iram furoris sui : et non peribimus : ¹⁰ et vidit dñs. opera illorum quia
reversi sunt unusquisque a viis suis malignis : et paenituit dñm. super
mala quae locutus est ut faceret eis et non fecit :
IV. 1 ¹ Et contristatus est ionas tristitia magna : et maestus factus est :
2 ² et oravit ad dñm. et dixit : dñe. nonne haec sunt verba mea : cum
adhuc essem : in mea terra : propter hoc proposueram fugere in
tharsis : quoniam sciebam quia tu misericors es : et indulgens : et
3 patiens : et nimium misericors : et paenitens in malignitatibus : ³ Et
nunc dominator dñe. accipe animam meam a me : quoniam bonum
4 est mihi mori magis quam vivere. ⁴ et dixit dñs. ad ionan : si valde
5 contristatus es tu ⁵ Et exiit ionas extra civitatem : et sedit contra

TRANSLATION

(1:14-4:11)

Chapter 1

14) . . .the life of this man, and that you not lay upon us the righteous blood of him; because you, Lord, have done as you wished.

15) And they took Jonah, and they cast him into the sea. And the sea stood still from its violence.

16) And the men feared God a great fear and they offered sacrifices to God and vowed vows.

Chapter 2

1) And the Lord prepared in advance a great fish to swallow Jonah; and Jonah was in the belly of the fish for three nights.

2) And Jonah prayed to the Lord his God from the belly of the fish,

3) And he said, I cried to the Lord my God in my distress, and he heard me; from the belly of Hell my cry; you heard my voice.

4) You cast me into the depth of the heart of the sea, and the floods surrounded me; all your stormy (waves) and your billows passed over me.

5) And I said, I am driven away from your eyes; perhaps I shall draw near to look again toward your holy temple.

6) The water poured over me even to the soul; the abyss surrounded me; finally my head went down into the clefts of the mountains,

7) And I went down to the land whose bars are connected forever; and the corruption of my life rises (or, let the corruption rise) up to you, Lord, my God.

8) In this which (when) my soul fainted from me, I remembered my God; and my speaking came to you into your holy temple.

9) Those guarding vain and false [things] forsake their own mercy.

10) I however with the voice of praise and acknowledgement kneel down before you; I shall pay whatever I vowed to you the God of my salvation (lit. - to salvation my God).

11) And it was directed to the fish and [it] cast forth Jonah upon the dry land.

Chapter 3

1) And the word of God came to Jonah again, saying,

2) Arise and go to Nineveh, a great city, and make known of it according to the former proclamation, which I plainly told you.

3) And Jonah arose and went off to the city Nineveh, just as God spoke to him. Now Nineveh was a great city before God almost a three days journey.

4) And Jonah began to enter [into] the city almost a day's journey. And he cried and said, Yet three [days] and Nineveh will be overthrown.

5) And the men of Nineveh believed in God; and they proclaimed a fast, and they put on themselves sackcloth, from the greater even unto the lesser of them.

6) And word reached unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne and put his robe from himself, and covered [over] himself sackcloth and sat in ashes.

7) And it was proclaimed in Nineveh by the king and the eminent of this state saying, Let not man and beasts, oxen and sheep taste anything; neither let them feed nor drink water.

8) And the men covered themselves with sackcloth; both men and beasts cried strongly to God, and each one turned from his own evil way, and from the injustices which was in their hands. And they said,

9) Who knows if God will repent and turn away the wrath of his fury, and we shall not perish.

10) And God saw their works because each one turned from their own evil ways. And God repented over the evil which he said that he would do to them and he did not do it.

Chapter 4

1) And Jonah was saddened with grief, and he became sorrowful.

2) And he prayed to God and said, God, were not these my words when I was yet in my country? On account of this I set forth to flee from Tarshish, since I knew that you are merciful and kind and patient and exceedingly merciful, and sorry in malice.

3) And now Lord God take my life from me, since it is good for me to die more than to live.

4) And God said to Jonah, Are you intensely saddened?

5) And Jonah went out of the city and sat over against the

city; and he himself made a tent for himself; and he sat under it in the shade until he might see what would become to the city.

6) And the Lord God prepared a gourd and it went up above the head of Jonah that it might be a shade over his head, that it might protect him from his evils. And Jonah rejoiced over the gourd with great joy.

7) And God prepared a worm before dawn on the morrow and it smote the gourd, and it was dried up.

8) And immediately it happened with the rising sun, and God prepared a burning wind. And the sun struck upon the head of Jonah and he was burning up and his soul fainted, and he said, It is good for me to die than to life.

9) And God said to Jonah, Are you intensely saddened over the gourd? And he said, I am intensely saddened, even to death.

10) And God said, You have shown mercy over the gourd on which you did not toil upon it, nor did you rear it which was born in a night and perished in a night.

11) Moreover, shall I not now spare Nineveh, that great city, in which abide more than 120,000 men who have not known their right or their left, and many cattle?

APPENDIX E

THE QUMRÂN GREEK JONAH¹

NOTES

Fragments of an unknown recension of the Greek Bible found at Qumran were first published by D. Barthélemy.² This recension is a revision of the Old Greek text, revised on the basis of a forerunner of the traditional Hebrew text extant in Palestine toward the middle of the 1st century A.D. The Recension itself dates probably from the second half of the 1st century A.D. However, the Vorlage of this Greek text is by no means identical with the surviving textus receptus, but may be called Proto-Masoretic, since it differs even more decidedly with the Old Palestinian Hebrew text. In the Minor Prophets, this recension has been identified with the text used by Origen in the 7th column of the Hexapla, so-called Quinta. It seems to have had wide circulation, for the evidence suggests that it was available to Origen in at least two editions, and survives in the quotations of Justin Martyr's

¹Dominique Barthélemy, Les Devancies D'Aquila, Première Publication Intégrale du Texte des Fragments du Dodécaprophète (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), pp. 170-1.

²Dominique Barthélemy, "Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante," Revue Biblique, LX (1953), pp. 18-29.

Dialogue and elsewhere. More important, Barthélemy has been able to establish that this recension was the common base of later recensions of the Greek Bible, above all Aquila.³

³Frank Moore Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert," The Harvard Theological Review, LVII (October 1964), pp. 281-99. Also see Appendix D, ft. nt. 5 of the present study.

TEXT

- I 14: ... αἵμα ἀθῶ[ον ...
 16: ... ἐφ[ο]βή[θη]σαν [...] Καὶ ἐθυσίασαν θ[υ]σίαν [...]
- II 1: ... κ]αταπιεῖν τὸν ἰωαν[ν]α[ν] [...] τρεῖς ἡμ[έ]ρας καὶ τρεῖς ...
 4: ἀπ]έρρειψάς μ[ε] εἰς β[ά]θη ... ποταμ[ο]ς περιεκύκλω-
 σ[έ]ν μ[ε] ... καὶ τὰ κύματά σο[υ] ἐπ' ἐμὲ διήλ[θον]
 5: ... ἐγ[ώ] ἔπιπα ἀπῶ[σμαι] ἐξ ἐναντίας ὀφθαλμῶν σου [...]
 προσθ[ή]σω () ἐπιβλέψ[αι] πρὸς νὰν () ἄ[γι]όν σου
 6: Π[?] με ὕδατα ἔω[ς] ψυχῆς Ἀβυσσος ἐκύκλωσέν με
 ἐσχάτ]η Ἐλος περιέσχ[ε]ν τὴν κεφαλὴν μου
 7: Εἰς ... ὁρέων κατέβην Ἡ [γῆ] μοχλοῖ ἀντῆς κατ'
 ἐμοῦ εἰς [...]
- III 7: ... ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ κτ[ήνη] ... γευσάσθ]ωσαν μηδ' ἐν
 πιέ]τωσαν
 8: Καὶ περιεβάλλοντο ... τὰ κτήνη Κα[ὶ] ... πρ[ὸ]ς τὸν
 θεόν ... Κ[αὶ] ἐπ[ε]στ[ρεψ]ε[ν] ἀ[ν]ήρ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ
 αὐτοῦ τῆς πο[ν]ηρίας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδικίας [τῆς] ἐν χειρὶ
 αὐτῶν
 9: Τίς [οἶ]δεν ἐπ[ισ]τ[ρέ]ψει καὶ πα[ρ]α[κ]ληθῆσεται
 ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐπιστ[ρέ]ψει ἀπὸ θυμοῦ ὀργ[ῆς] αὐτοῦ καὶ
 οὐ μὴ ἀπολώ[με]θα
 10: Καὶ [εἴ]δεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐπέστρεψαν ἀπὸ
 τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτῶν τῆς πονηρίας καὶ παρεκ[λ]ή-
 θη[ι] () θεὸς ἐπὶ τῇ κ[α]κίᾳ ἣ ἐλ[ά]λησεν [ποι]ῆσαι
 αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησεν
- IV 1: Κ[αὶ] ἐλυπήθη ἰω[ν]α λύ[πην] μεγάλην καὶ ἡ[θύ]μηση
 2: καὶ [προσ]εύ[ξ]ατο πρὸς τε[τ]ρ... ὁ λ[ό]γος μου ἔτι
 ὄντος... προ[έ]φθα[σα] τοῦ φυγεῖν... ἐλεή[μ]ων καὶ [...]
 5: ... ἀπέναντ]ι τῆς πόλεως ...

APPENDIX F

THE WADI MURABBA^ĀT HEBREW JONAH¹

NOTES

The most important of the Murabba^Āt finds is a scroll of the Minor Prophets from the 2nd century A.D., found early in 1955. The preserved portion of the manuscript extends from the middle of Joel to the beginning of Zechariah, including, in traditional order, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah and Haggai. Four columns are almost perfectly preserved.²

The entire text of the Minor Prophets scroll reveals only five or six real variants from the textus receptus, excluding orthographic variation, interchange of ם and ך, and the like. Even the minor textual variants which mark the text of Aquila, the Targum and the Vulgate are largely absent, and it is clear that these versions preserve some genuine survivals of readings which predate the textus receptus, since in each case older materials were used alongside the newer standard text.³

¹P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, et R. DeVaux, Discoveries in the Judean Desert, II, Les Grottes de Murabba^Āt (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 190-92.

²Frank Moore Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumrân (London: Gerald Duckword and Co., 1958), p. 14.

³Frank Moore Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert," The Harvard Theological Review, LVII, (October 1964), p. 288.

In effect then, there has been found at Wadi Murabba⁴at texts which testify to an archetypal recension as the ancestor of all Medieval Hebrew biblical Manuscripts.⁴

⁴Frank Moore Cross, Ibid., Menahem Mansoor, The Dead Sea Scrolls (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964), p. 28.

TEXT

- I. 11 ויהי [] [יְהוָה אֵל [יְהוָה בן אמת] לאמר²]
 הַגִּדְוֹלָה וְקִרְאָה עֲלֶיהָ כִּי עֲלֹתָהּ רָעַתָּם לִפְנֵי³]
 תְּרַשִּׁישֶׁנָּה מִלִּפְנֵי [יְהוָה וִירָד יָפוּ וַיִּמְצָא אֲנִיהָ]
 שְׁכָרָה [] לִבָּא עִמָּהֶם תְּרַשִּׁישָׁה מִלִּפְנֵי [יְהוָה וַיְהִי הָהֵמָּה הַטִּיל
 רוּחַ גְּדֻלָּה אֶל הַיָּם וַיְהִי סַעַר גְּדוֹל בֵּים [וְהָאֲנִיָּה חֹשְׁבָה לְהִשְׁבֹּר
 וַיִּירָאוּ הַנַּחֲמִים וַיִּזְעֻקוּ אִישׁ אֶל אֱלֹהֵי וַיִּטְלוּ אֶת הַכֵּלִים אֲשֶׁר⁵
 בְּאֲזֵנֶיהָ אֶל הַיָּם [לְהַקְנִיל] מְעַלִּיהֶם וַיִּזְנֶה יְרֵד [אֶל יִרְכַּתִּי הַסְּפִינָה]
 וַיִּשְׁכַּב וַיִּרְדֹּם⁶ [וַיִּקְרַב אֵלָיו [רַב [הַחֲבֵל וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ מַה לָּךְ גִּרְדָּם קוֹם]
 אֶל אֱלֹהֶיךָ [אֲוֹלִי יִתְעַשֶּׂת הָאֱלֹהִים] [וְלֹא נֹאבֵד וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֲנִישׁ
 אֵל רָעָהוּ [לֹכֹ וְנִפְלִיָּה גְדֻלָּה וְגִדְוָה [בְּשִׁלְמִי] הָרַעָה הַזֹּאת]
 וַיִּפְּלוּ גְדֻלָּתָם וַיִּפֹּל הַגִּדְוֹל עַל יוֹנָה⁸ וַיֹּאמְרוּ [אֵלָיו [הַגִּידָה נָא לָנוּ
 בְּאֲשֶׁר לָמִי הָרַעָה הַזֹּאת לָנוּ מַה מִּלְּאֲכָתְךָ וּמֵאִין תִּבּוֹא מִן] [הַ
 אֲרֶצֶךָ וַאֲיִמּוֹזָה עִם אֵתָהּ וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֵיהֶם עֲבָרִי אֲנִכִּי וְאֵת יְהוָה
 אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲנִי יִרְאֶה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אֶת הַיָּם וְאֵת הַיָּבֵשׁ [הַ
 וַיִּירָאוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים יִרְאֶה גְדֻלָּה וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו מַה זֹּאת עֲשִׂיתָ]
 יִדְעוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים כִּי מִלִּפְנֵי [יְהוָה הוּא בְּרָחָה כִּי הִגִּיד לָהֶם¹¹ וַיֹּאמְרוּ
 אֵלָיו מַה נַּעֲשֶׂה לָּךְ וַיִּשְׁתַּק הַיָּם מְעַלְּנוּ כִּי הַיָּם הוֹלֵךְ וְסַעַר
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֵיהֶם שְׂאוּנִי וְהִטִּילְנִי אֶל [הַיָּם וַיִּשְׁתַּק הַיָּם מְעַלְּכֶם כִּי
 יוֹדַע אֲנִי כִּי בִשְׁלִי הִסְעָר הַגִּדְוֹל הַזֶּה [עַלְכֶּם¹³ וַיִּחַתְרוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים
 [לְהִשִּׁיב אֶל הַיָּבֵשׁ וְלֹא יָכֻלוּ כִּי הֵימָּה] הוֹלֵךְ וְסַעַר עֲלֵיהֶם
 וַיִּקְרָאוּ אֶל יְהוָה [וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֵיהֶם יְהוָה אֵל נָא נֹאבֵדָה בְּנֶפֶשׁ
 הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה וְאֵל תִּתֵּן עֲלֵינוּ דָם נָקִי כִּי אֵתָהּ יְהוָה כֹּאֲשֶׁר חִפְצָהּ
 עָשִׂיתָ¹⁵ וַיִּשְׁאוּ אֶת יוֹנָה וַיִּטְלֻהוּ אֶל הַיָּם וַיַּעֲמֵד הַיָּם מִזְעָפוֹ
 וַיִּירָאוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים יִרְאֶה גְדֻלָּה אֶת יְהוָה וַיִּזְבְּחוּ זִבְחַת לַיהוָה¹⁶
 וַיְדַרְדְּרוּ גִדְוֹלִים וַיִּמְנֵן יְהוָה דָּג [גִּדְוֹל לְבַלַּע אֶת יוֹנָה וַיְהִי יוֹנָה
 בְּמִצֵּי הַדָּג שְׁלֹשָׁה [יָמִים וְשֹׁלֶשֶׁת לַיְלֹת² וַיִּתְּפֹלֵל יוֹנָה אֶל יְהוָה
 [אֵלָהִיו מִמִּצֵּי הַדָּגָה³ וַיֹּאמְרוּ] קִרְאֵנִי מִצָּרָה לִי אֵל [יְהוָה וַיַּעֲנֵנִי
 [מִבְּטָן שְׂאוֹל שׁוֹעֲנֵנִי שְׁמַעְנִי] קוֹלִי⁴ וְתִשְׁלִיכֵנִי מִצֹּלָה בְּלִבִּי
 [] [וַיִּגְדְּלוּ] יִסְבְּבוּ כָּל מְשִׁבֵּי רֵיחַ עֲלֵי עֲבָרֵי⁵ וְאֲנִי אֲמַרְתִּי
 [גִּדְוֹלִים] מִגִּדְוֹל עֵינֶיךָ אֶךְ אוֹסִיף לְהַבִּיט אֶל הַיָּם כָּל קִדְשֶׁךָ⁶ אֲפֹפוּנִי
 מֵיָם עֹד [נִפְלֵשׁ תְּהוֹם [יִסְבְּבוּ סוּף חֲבֻנוֹשׁ לְרֹאשִׁי לְקַצְבִּי הָרִים
 יִרְדְּדוּנִי בְּרִחְוִיָּה בְּעֵדִי לְעֹנוֹלָם מִשְׁחָת חֲנִי יְהוָה

[אל]הי⁸ [ב]התע[טנף] עלי נפשי את[ן]
 [אל] [הי]כל קדש[ך] *משמר[ני]ם הבל[ני] [י]עזבו¹⁰ וואנ[י] ב[ק]ול
 [אז]ב[ח]ה [לך] אשר נדרתי אשל[מה] ישוע[תה] ליהו[נה]

vacat

. III ¹¹ [ויאמ]ר יהוה ל[ד]ג ויקא את [י]ונה [היבש]ה¹² [וייהי דב[ר]]
 [ש]נית לאמ[ר]² קנ[ו]ם לך אל [הגד[ו]ן]ל[נה] []
 [א]ליה [ה]קריאה אש[ר] אנכי דבר אליך³ ויקם [י]ונה וילך אל גני[נה]
 כדב[ר] [י]הוה ונ[י]נה היתה עיר גדולה לאלהים מהלך שלשת ימים⁴ ויהל
 יו[נה] לבוא בעיר מהלך יום אחד ויקרא ויאמר עוד ארבעים יום ונינה
 נהפכ[ת] ויאמ[י]נו אנשי גינה באלהים ויקראו צום וילבשו שקים מגדולם
 ועד [ק]טנם⁶ ויגצו הדבר אל מלך גינה ויקם מכסאו ויעבר אדרתו מעליו
 ויכס שק [] על האפר ויזעק ויאמר בנינה מטעם המלך וגדל[י]ן
 לאמר האנדם והבהמה הבלקר והצא[ן] אל יטעמו מאומה אל ירעו
 ומים אל ישתו⁸ ויתכסו שקים האדם והבהמה [ו]יקראו על אלהים
 [בת]וק[נה] [] איש מדרכו הרע[נה] ומן החמס אשר בכפ[י]הם⁹ מי
 יודע [] ונחם האלהים ושב מחרון אפו ולא נאבד¹⁰ וירא האלהים
 את מעשיהם כי שבו מדרכם הרעה וינחם האלהים על הרעה
 אשר [] לעשות להם ולא עשה¹¹ וירע אל יונה רעה גדולה ויחר
 לו¹² וינתפלל אל יהוה ויאמר אנה יהוה הלוא זה דבר[י] עד היותי על
 אדמת[י] על כן קדמתי () לברח תרשישה כי ידעתי כי אתה אל חנון
 ורחום אר[ך] ונאפ[י]ם ורב חסד ונחם על הרעה () ועתה יהוה קח
 נא את נפש[י] ממני כי טוב מותי מחיי

vacat

⁴ ויאמר יהוה [ה]היטב חרה לך⁵ וניצא יונה מן העיר וישב מקדם
 לעיר ויעש לו שם סכה וינשכ תחתיה בצל עד אשר יראה מה
 יהיה בעיר⁶ וימן יהוה אלהים קיקיון ויעל מעל ליונה להיות צל על
 ראשו להציל [] מן עתו וישמח [] על הקיקיון שמוח[ה] גדולה
 וימן האלהים בעלות [] למחרת ונתן את הקיקיון
 וייבש ויהי כזרח השמש וימ[ן]
 השמש על ראש ויתעלה וישאל את נפשו לנמות ויאמר טוב
 מותי מחיי⁹ וינאמ[ר] אלהים [א]ל יונה והיטב חננה לך על הקיקיון
 ויאמר היטיב חרה לי עד [] ויאמ[ר] יהוה אתה חסת על הקיקיון

[א]שר לא עמלת בו ולא גדלתן לילך היה ובן לילה אבד
 "ואני לא אחונסן על זיוה העניר [אשר יש בה הרבה
 משתים עשרה רבו אדם אשר לא ידע] בין ימינו לשמאלו ובהמה
 רבה

APPENDIX G

A BRIEF STUDY OF ARAMAIC AND ARAMAISMS

The Aramaeans. From cuneiform sources we find that the Aramaeans were but a relatively late ethnic group among the Semitic nomadic tribes, not being mentioned explicitly as ʿaramaya until the end of the 12th century B.C.¹

The Aramaeans are often referred to as nomads. This indicates that their origin is shrouded in obscurity. To trace their origin as best possible we must go back to the Sūtû and Akhlâmu, who Roger T. O'Callaghan says, at an earlier period, were the forerunners of the Aramaeans.²

The Sūtû appear in literary texts from the end of the 3rd millennium or the beginning of the 2nd, and are mentioned as desert nomads in documents from about 1743 B.C.³ There is some question whether they came from east or northwest Mesopotamia. The Egyptian execration texts of the 20th and 19th centuries B.C. mention princes of Šwtw, somewhere in Palestine.⁴ Albright has connected them with the Babylonian

¹Benjamin Mazar, "The Aramean Empire and its Relations with Israel," The Biblical Archaeologist, XXV (December 1962), p. 101.

²Rogert T. O'Callaghan, Aram Naharim (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1948), p. 93.

³Ibid., p. 94; W.F. Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam," Journal of Biblical Literature LXIII (1944), p. 220, n. 89.

⁴Roger T. O'Callaghan, Op. Cit., p. 95.

Sutû.⁵

The Akhlâmu are often associated with the Sutû, and are undoubtedly also nomads, coming from the Mesopotamian region. From the 12th century B.C. on they are referred to as Aramaeans. Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076) tells how he defeated Aramaean nomads (ah-la-me-e ar-ma-a-ia).⁶

Hence, it is probably the Akhlâmu who are the direct forerunners of the Aramaeans rather than the Sutû, although the Sutû are associated with them.

By the end of the 12th century these nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples had spread through the Syrian desert and the border areas of Mesopotamia and Syria. By the 2nd half of the 11th century these Aramaeans had taken possession of large areas of both sides of the Syrian desert and had succeeded in settling them. They had adjusted to living conditions in these adopted lands and had established ruling dynasties. They gained control over caravan routes leading from Mesopotamia to Anatolia and Syria, thus securing for themselves a constantly growing position of importance in international trade.⁷

⁵W. F. Albright, Loc. cit.

⁶Roger T. O'Callaghan, Op. Cit., p. 94.

⁷Benjamin Mazar, Op. Cit., p. 101.

The formation of the Aramaean empire brings up the question of the official language of these people. The term "official Aramaic" indicates that Aramaic became a widespread official lingua franca. Official Aramaic was the language used by the Aramaeans in their royal offices in Damascus, in the districts throughout the empire, in trade and in intercourse with neighboring states. To some extent it was the official language of diplomacy, administration, and business under the Assyrians and Babylonians in the 8th-6th centuries B.C.⁸ At times it even displaced Akkadian.⁹ It became the lingua franca in the Persian empire from India to Ethiopia.

H. L. Ginsberg holds that official Aramaic must have developed in Assyria out of dialects that were once spoken somewhere east of the Euphrates, very likely in Assur, a district east of the Tigris.¹⁰ If this is so, then this form of Aramaic should be called eastern. Benjamin Mazar, however, states that official Aramaic has none of the earmarks of east-Aramaic dialects.¹¹ W. F. Albright states that it is safe to say that the Aramaean language sprang from a West-

⁸Ibid., p. 111.

⁹W. F. Stinespring, "History and Present Status of Aramaic Studies," The Journal of Bible and Religion, XXVI (October 1958), p. 300.

¹⁰H. L. Ginsberg, "Aramaic Dialect Problems," The American Journal of Semitic Language and Literatures, XLX (October 1933), p. 8.

¹¹Benjamin Mazar, Op. Cit., p. 113.

Semitic dialect, spoken in north-western Mesopotamia in the early 2nd millennium B.C.¹² Where the official Aramaic came from, then, seems to give the scholars some difficulty.

The period from the 10th to the 7th centuries B.C. is generally now regarded as the period of so-called Old Aramaic. The inscriptions most often referred to from this period are the Panammu I, Panammu II and Bar-Rakab from Zenjirli; the two inscriptions from Nereb; the Zakir Stele; and the Bar-Hadad I inscription.¹³ But there is a most interesting papyrus fragment, found at Saqqara (Memphis) in Egypt, dating from the latter part of the 7th century B.C.

This document is a letter written by a vassal king, in Palestine, named Adon, to the Egyptian Pharaoh, asking his aid against the invading king of Babylon. It is written in Aramaic, in the square script. This is now the oldest Aramaic papyrus known.¹⁴ Its significance is that it illustrates the international importance of the Aramaic language. Adon, without doubt, spoke some dialect of Canaanite, while the Pharaoh spoke Egyptian. Yet Adon wrote in neither tongue, but in Aramaic. Aramaic, then, was already, before the end of the 7th century, becoming the international language of state.

¹²Cited by Roger T. O'Callaghan, Op. Cit., p. 112.

¹³W. F. Stinespring, Op. Cit., p. 300.

¹⁴John Bright, "A new Letter in Aramaic, Written to a Pharaoh of Egypt," The Biblical Archaeologist, XII (February 1949), p. 46-7.

It has long been considered that Aramaic did not become an international official language until the Persian Empire in the 6th-5th centuries. But, now that this papyrus pushes this date back by at least a century, the question of Aramaisms appearing in the Old Testament is open for new investigation. Indeed, the Aramaic language, (Old Aramaic) is attested in documents as early as the 10th century B.C. The presence of Aramaisms in the Old Testament can no longer be used uncritically as a mark of late date. If these Aramaisms are truly Aramaisms, they should at least be studied in the light of the early usage of the Aramaic language.

APPENDIX H

THE COPTIC JONAH

Notes on the dialects. In pre-christian days colonies of Jews had settled in Egypt, especially in and about Alexandria, and there the Septuagint was prepared. Consequently the way had been opened for the early entrance of Christianity into Egypt.¹ This makes an early translation into the vernacular probable, though not certain.²

Until about the 1880's only three Coptic dialects were known: Sahidic, Bohairic, and Fayyumic, and it had been the accepted theory that Sahidic was the language of the Thebaid, Bohairic that of the Delta, and Fayyumic, at first wrongly identified with Bashmuric, that of the Fayyum.³ When the first

¹Paul E. Kahle, Bala'izah Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 257-70, states that it is not until the middle of the 3rd century A.D. that there is evidence for any considerable number of Christians in Egypt. But Chaim Wardi, lecturer at the University of Tel-Aviv, Israel, a student of Christian history of the Mediterranean world, argues that when this evidence does appear, there is a well-grown church in Egypt. If the Church is well-grown in the 3rd century A.D., then Christianity must have been in Egypt from an early date, and that for some reason most of the writings of the Church of the 1st two centuries were destroyed (Unpublished lectures by Chaim Wardi, while the writer was attending the American Institute, Jerusalem, Israel, in the fall of 1963).

²Frank H. Hallock, "The Coptic Old Testament," The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, XLIX (July 1933), p. 327.

³Paul I. Kahle, Op. Cit., p. 193.

Achimic texts came to light towards the end of the 19th century, indications seemed to point to Achmim as the finding-place of these manuscripts. Hence the dialect was called Achmimic and it has retained this name until the present day.⁴ But it is by no means certain that any or most of the Achmimic manuscripts were actually found even in the neighborhood of Achmim. The only Achmimic manuscript unearthed by a scientific excavation was found in the Fayyum.⁵ Moreover, Fayyumic manuscripts have been found as far south as Wadi Sarga, and Fayyumic ostraca at Thebes.⁶

The first scholars who studied Subachmimic assumed that it was a later form of the ancient Achmimic and was an intermediate stage between this and Sahidic.⁷ But this theory has been generally abandoned.

Achmimic. For Achmimic there are a considerable number of texts showing a more or less uniform dialect. The earliest manuscript in this dialect, the Achmimic Proverbs,⁸ shows a high degree of standardization which must have taken place late in the 3rd century A.D.⁹ Kahle places without

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p. 195.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., p. 193.

⁸As yet unpublished.

⁹Paul E. Kahle, Op. Cit., p. 197.

question the real home of Achmimic at Thebes.¹⁰ However, he emphasizes that the fully standardized Achmimic dialect can be demonstrated to be a rather late development from a mixture of early Sahidic and certain local dialects, and preserving comparatively little of the ancient Theban dialect.¹¹

Subachmimic. The Subachmimic dialects stand between Achmimic and Middle Egyptian. There is no uniform dialect, but rather three main groups.¹² But even within these main groups there are considerable dialectical variations.¹³

Non-literary evidence for the localization of Subachmimic is comparatively small.¹⁴ On the basis of what evidence there is Kahle feels justified in placing Subachmimic originally in the region from Abydos to Ashmunein, perhaps extending further north. However, in the north it evidently disappeared comparatively early in the Coptic period as a spoken dialect, though perhaps not as a literary dialect. But in the south at Aphrodito and Achmim it lingered on for cen-

¹⁰Ibid., p. 198. He bases this conclusion on dialectical spellings in the non-literary texts as conclusive evidence for the localization of literary dialects.

¹¹Ibid., p. 201.

¹²Ibid., p. 206. Group one consists mainly of the Gospel of St. John, one of the Melitian letters and the Acta Pauli; group two is formed by the Manichaean manuscripts and fragments from Vienna and Florence; group three is the new Gnostic find at Deir Chenoboskin.

¹³Ibid., p. 207.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 216.

turies, like Achmimic at Thebes.¹⁵ The 4th century A.D. seems to be the period of its greatest use.

Middle Egyptian. This dialect falls into two groups: (1) Middle Egyptian proper which shows heavy Sub-achmimic influence, and (2) Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence, which is half way to Fayyumic proper, though still retaining a distinct Middle Egyptian character.¹⁶

Middle Egyptian proper. This must have spread south during the early Coptic period, as seems to be evidenced by two texts, both of the 4th or 5th century, at Wadi Sarga, and an inscription at Bawit, which are in this dialect.¹⁷ During the 4th and early 5th centuries Subachmimic and Middle Egyptian proper must have existed side by side with also Sahidic in the whole region from Wadi Sarga to Oxyrhynchus as literary dialects.¹⁸

Middle Egyptian with Fayyumic influence. Kahle questions whether this dialect was even original with peculiarities of its own, and in fact finds it more probable

¹⁵Ibid., p. 217.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 220.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 224.

¹⁸Ibid.

that it was merely a later development of Middle Egyptian proper under Fayyumic or Bohairic influence, and was superseded by Fayyumic in the 2nd half of the 5th century.¹⁹

Fayyumic. The most important text of the Fayyumic dialect, Ms. 1 of the Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek is still unpublished.²⁰ However, Kahle has been able to study this manuscript. He states that from a linguistic, dialectical and biblical point of view this is undoubtedly one of the most interesting Coptic manuscripts ever found in Egypt.²¹ It is the only Coptic biblical text in which the use of Greek verbs and particles is still largely unknown, even Greek nouns being rare, and the language is probably closer to the ancient Egyptian than that of any Coptic text with the exception of the Old Coptic texts only.²²

Kahle states with fair confidence that the dialect of the earliest manuscripts in Fayyumic proper was standardized under the influence of Bohairic, presumably when the Bohairic version of parts of the Bible was transposed into Fayyumic.²³

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 225.

²⁰ This manuscript contains the Acta Pauli and Ecclesiastes in Greek, and the Song of Songs, Lamentations and Ecclesiastes in an Old Fayyumic translation.

²¹ Paul E. Kahle, Op. Cit., p. 228.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

Fayyumic was the language of Fayyum. This is shown by the large number of non-literary texts which have actually been found in the Fayyum.²⁴

Bohairic. Kahle believes there is evidence for a type of Bohairic (an early form) which was the spoken dialect of Memphis and its neighborhood in early times, perhaps extending as far south as Heracleopolis. Some such dialect must have been the link between Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Bohairic proper. But this phase of the Bohairic dialect had disappeared by the 6th century.²⁵

The Coptic Grammarian Athanasius bishop of Kus, writing in the 11th century A.D., noted that at his time the Coptic language was divided into three dialects: (1) the dialect of Misr (Cairo), the Sahidic, (2) the Bohairic which took its name from the province of Bahira, and (3) the Bashmuric used in the country of Bashmur.²⁶ This shows that as late as the 11th century A.D. Sahidic was still the principle dialect of the whole of Upper Egypt and in particular of Cairo, that Bohairic was the main, though not the sole dialect of the

²⁴Ibid., p. 230.

²⁵Ibid., p. 248. Kahle believes that the Fayyumic version of the New Testament can be demonstrated to have been taken over in part from the Bohairic version before the end of the 4th century.

²⁶Bashmur is near Mansurah in the Delta.

Delta, and that Fayyumic had already disappeared.²⁷

Sahidic. The sub-dialects from Achmimic to Bohairic form a close relationship, and Sahidic, as it is known in its developed form, cannot be made to fit into this scheme.²⁸ However, Kahle believes that a number of considerations seem to indicate that in origin Sahidic was much closer to Bohairic than would at first appear.²⁹ He further states that the vocabulary of the Sahidic version of the Bible is mainly northern or peculiar to Sahidic. Hence there can be little question but that originally Sahidic came from the North, presumably the Delta, and long before the Coptic period it had spread to the south and had become assimilated to the dialects spoken there to a considerable extent.³⁰

The frequent use of Greek words and particles is strong evidence that Sahidic must have been in contact with Greek more closely than any of the other dialects.³¹

The time of standardization of the Coptic Dialects. Kahle concludes that Achmimic and Subachmimic were not standardized until the early 4th century A.D., Middle Egyptian

²⁷Paul E. Kahle, Op. Cit., p. 249.

²⁸Ibid., p. 233.

²⁹Ibid., p. 242.

³⁰Ibid., p. 247-8.

³¹Ibid., p. 256.

late in the 3rd century A.D., Fayyumic not until the middle of the 4th century A.D. and Sahidic not much before the 4th century.³² Bohairic proper would be standardized about the 6th-8th centuries, judging from the data he has given, but could not have superseded the official Sahidic before the 10th or 11th century, when Arabic had become well established as the official language.

Notes on the Biblical Versions. In this study the writer has been able to secure texts of the book of Jonah in Sahidic, Achmimic and Bohairic.

The Sahidic (1:10-2:10). This text was derived from Shenoute's White Monastery,³³ and published by P. Augustini Ciasca, Sacrorum Bibliorum: Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica (Rome: Typis Euesdem S. Congregationis, 1889), pp. 343-44.

The Achmimic (3:8b-4:11). In places this is fragmentary. Published by Walter Till in "Die Achmimische Version der Zwölf Kleinen Propheten," Coptica, IV (Havniae, 1927), pp. 53-55. Till has shown that this text was copied from another Achmimic manuscript, with a Sahidic version between

³²Ibid., p. 262.

³³Willem Grossouw, The Coptic Versions of the Minor Prophets (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1938), p. 2.

that and the Septuagint.³⁴

The Achmimic (1:1-4:2). In places this is fragmentary. Published by Urbain Bouriant in "Fragments des Petits Prophetes en dialecte de Panopolis," Recueil de travaux relatifs a la philologie et a l'archeologie egyptiennes et assyriennes, XIX (1897), pp. 1-12. This publication was issued at a time when the study of Achmimic had hardly begun, and is not too satisfactory for critical purposes.³⁵

The Bohairic (complete). The only complete edition of the Twelve Minor Prophets is in Bohairic, published by Henricus Tattam, Duodecim Prophetarum Minorum Libros, in Lingua Aegyptiaca Vulgo Coptica seu Memphitica (Oxford: E. Typographeo Academico, 1836). Jonah appears on pages 96-106. This is based on the copy which Woide made from the manuscript of Paris BN 2 Ca, which Tattam collated with the manuscript Saint-Germain 21 (now BN 58CA).³⁶

³⁴F. L. Griffith, a review in Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, XIV (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1938), p. 2.

³⁵Willem Grossouw, Op. Cit., p. 1.

³⁶A. Vaschalde, "Ce Qui a Été Publié des Versions Coptes de la Bible, Texts Bohairiques," Le Museon, LXIII (1930), pp. 409-431.

THE SAHIDIC (1:10-2:10)

TEXT

10 αὐτὼ ἀνῥροτε πῶτῃ πῤωμμε εἰπὸν οὐνοῦ πῥοτε πεχαὺ π-
 ῖωνας· κε εἰθε ἀκρ̄ παῖ παμ. εἰπείη ἀγεῖμμε πῶτῃ πῤωμμε κε
 πῤαεῖπωτ πῤαεῖπω πῥο ἀπχοεῖς· ἐβόλκε πῤαεῖπωτ.
 11 πεχαὺ παεῖ κε οὐ πετετῖπῤαεῖπωτ παεῖ κε ἐρε θαλασσα
 παλο ἐσο πῥοεῖμ ἐρον. ἐβόλκε θαλασσα εἰτωονη πῥοτῶ
 12 εσκερ πε πῥοτῶ πῥοεῖμ. πεχε ῖωνας κε εἰπ πῤετῖπῥοτῖ
 ἐθαλασσα· αὐτὼ εἰπαλο ἐσο πῥοεῖμ ἐρώτῃ· *ἐβόλ κε αἰεῖμμε
 13 ἀποκ κε εἰπῖπῖτ ἐρε πείνοῦ πῥοεῖμ εἰπων. αὐτὼ πεεῖρε
 πῤαπατοοτον πῤωμμε εκτοον ἐπεκρο· αὐτὼ ἀπονεεῖπωτ ἐ-
 14 βόλκε τεθαλασσα πεσῖ εἰμμε ἐματε ἐχωον. αὐτὼ αὐ-
 ονωμμε εἰραῖ ἐπῶς εἰπω μμεος κε ἀπῤωπῖτ ἐρον πῶς αὐτὼ
 ἀπετῖπῖμμε εἰθε τεψῖπῖμμε ἀπείρμμε· ἀπείρμε εἰραῖ ἐχωον
 ποτῖπῖμμε πῤαεῖπῖμμε ἐβόλκε πῥο πῤακοῖαεῖπῖμμε πῥοεῖς ἐκαε.
 15 αὐτὼ αὐτῖ πῖωνας αὐνοεῖ εἰραῖ ἐθαλασσα· αὐτὼ ἀελο
 16 πῶτῃ θαλασσα ἐσο πῥοεῖμ. πῤωμμε εἰ αὐῤροτε εἰπῖμμε ἀπῶς
 εἰπὸν οὐνοῦ πῥοτε· αὐτὼ αὐεῖπωτ ποτῖπῖμμε ἀπχοεῖς· ἀε-
 ρῖτ πῥοπῖτ.
 17, 1 αὐτὼ ἀπχοεῖς ἀεῖπῖμμε πῥοτῶ πῤετῖπῖμμε αὐμμε πῤ-
 ῖωνας· *αὐτὼ περε ῖωνας μμοπ εἰπ εἰπῖμμε ἀπῖπῖμμε πῤο-

THE SAHIDIC (1:10-2:10)

TRANSLATION

Chapter 1

10) Then they were afraid, namely the men, with a great fear [and] they said unto Jonah, Why have you done this to us? For they knew, namely the men, that he was fleeing from before the face of the Lord, because he had told them.

11) They said unto him, What shall we do unto you that the sea may cease, refraining the waves from us; for the sea was rising, shaking with great waves.

12) Jonah said, Take me [and] throw me into the sea, and it will cease, refraining the waves from you, because I know that because of me is this great tempest (the waves) upon you.

13) When the men had done to the extent of their hand to return them [selves] to the shore, they were not able, for the sea was making a great wave upon them.

14) Then they cried out to the Lord, saying, Do not be wroth with us, O Lord, do not let us perish for the life of this man; do not bring upon us righteous (just) blood, for in the manner you desired it, O Lord, you have done it.

15) Then they took Jonah [and] cast him into the sea, and it ceased, namely the sea, refraining the waves.

16) And the men feared the Lord with a great fear, and they slayed a sacrifice to the Lord [and] made vows.

Chapter 2

- 1) And the Lord commanded a great fish to eat Jonah; and Jonah was in [the] belly of the fish three nights.
- 2) Then he prayed, namely Jonah, unto the Lord his God, saying,
- 3) I cried out from in my distress unto the Lord my God [and] he heard me; I cried from the belly of hades (the western place) [and] you heard my voice.
- 4) You cast me into the depths, to the heart of the sea, and streams encompassed me, all your paths and your waves came up upon me.
- 5) Then I said, I am cast (they cast me) out from before your face; yet I will again (I will set my hand) look (to look) upon your holy temple.
- 6) Waters came into my soul, the last abyss encompassed me, weeds encompassed my head.
- 7) I went down [to] the clefts of the desert of the mountains, down to a land whose bars embrace me forever. Yet you shall bring up my life up from the perdition upwards to you, my Lord, my God.
- 8) When my soul fainted in me, I remembered the Lord; now let my prayer come up to you in the presence of your holy temple.
- 9) They who guard that which is vain and the lies, they have renounced your mercy.
- 10) But I with a voice of prayer and confession, I will

sacrifice to you. That which I have vowed, I will pay them to you, since the Lord is my salvation.

THE ACHMIMIC (3:8b-4:10)

TEXT

III. 8. ΠΟΥΕ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΝ ΠΥΘΟ ΕΘΑΥ ΜΝ
 ΤΚΑΚΙΑ ΕΤ ΖΝ ΝΟΥΣΙΧ ΔΟΥ ΠΑΧΕΥ ⁹ΔΕ
 ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΣΑΥΝΕ ΔΕ ΥΝΑΡΩΤΗΥ ΝΟΥ ΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΥΚΤΑΥ ΑΒΑΛ ΝΤΥΟΡΓΗ ΜΝ ΠΥΣΩΝΤ ΔΟΥ
 ΤΝΤΜΟΥ ¹⁰ΔΟΥ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΝΟ ΑΝΟΥΩΒΗΟΥΕ ΔΕ
 ΔΥΚΤΑΥ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΙ ΝΟΥΩΟΥ ΕΘΑΥ ΔΟΥ ΑΥΡΩΤΗΥ
 ΝΟΥ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΔΝ ΝΠΕΘΑΥ ΕΤΑΥ . . . ΕΚΛΟ
 Λ . . . IV. . . ²ΔΕ Ω ΠΧΑΕΙC ΜΗ
 ΝΕΙ ΕΝΝΕ ΝΑΥΕΔΕ ΕΤΙ ΕΙΩΟΟΠ ΖΜ ΠΑΚΩ
 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΙ ΔΙΩΩΡΠ ΜΠΩΤ ΑΩΡΗΙ ΑΘΑΡCΙC;
 ΑΒΑΛ ΔΕ ΑΪΜΜΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥ ΟΥΝΑΗΤ ΝΤΑΚ
 ΔΟΥ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΩΑΝΩΤΗΥ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΩΑΡΩΩΗΤ ΕΝΑΥΕ
 ΠΚΝΑΕ ΔΟΥ ΚΕΙΡΕ ΝΩΤΗΚ ΑΔΝ ΝΚΑΚΙΑ
³ΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΧΑΕΙC ΔΙ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ ΝΤΟΟΤ ΑΒΑΛ
 ΔΕ ΝΑΝΟΥΕ ΝΕΙ ΑΜΟΥ ΝΩΟΥΟ ΑΩΝΩ ⁴ΔΟΥ
 ΠΑΔΕ ΠΧΑΕΙC ΝΙΩΝΑC ΔΕ ΝΕ ΑΚΜΦΑΩ ΝΩΗΤ
 ΝΤΑΚ ΜΠΩΑ ⁵ΔΟΥ ΑΙΩΝΑC ΕΙ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΝ
 ΤΠΟΛΙC ΥΩΜΑCΤ ΖΙ ΤΕΖΙ ΝΤΠΟΛΙC ΔΟΥ
 ΑΥΤΑΝΟ ΝΕΥ ΜΠΜΑΕΤΜΜΟ ΝΟΥCΚΗΝΗ
 ΑΥΩΜΕC ΩΑΡΑC ΑΥΧΙ ΩΑΙΒΕ ΥΑΤΥΝΟ ΔΕ Ο
 ΠΕΤΝΑ ΖΩΠΕ ΝΤΠΟΛΙC ⁶ΔΟΥ ΑΠΧΑΕΙC

α4αα2α2νε νογ4ντ νεσλασ αογ
 α4τ0ογ αχν ιωνας ατ4ρ2αιβε αχωγ
 αβ2λ 2' νεγ2ις αγρεωε νσε ιωνας
 2ν ογνας ηρεωε α2ν π4ντ νεσλασ
 7αογ πνογτε α4ογ2α2α2νε νογ4ντ μπνο
 η2'τ . . . τ22απ . . . α4 . . . 2
 8α22ωπε επρι να2αε αογ πνογτε
 α4ογ2α2α2νε νογτ4γ πωαρβ2 αογ εγρακ2
 πρι α42ι0ε αταπε π'ιωνας α4ωωσμε
 η2ητ α4κατοοτ4 αβ2λ πα2εγ 2ε νανογς
 νει αμογ π2ογο αων2 9αογ πα2ε πα2εις
 πιν2τε π'ιωνας 2ε νε ακμκα2 η2ητ
 ητακ α2ν π4ντ νεσλασ αογ πα2εγ 2ε
 α'μκα2 η2ητ ανακ μπωα ωα 2ρηι απμογ
 10πα2ε πα2εις νεγ 2ε ητακ ακω2 2τηκ
 αρηι α2ν π4ντ νεσλασ εμπκωπ 2ις
 αχωγ ογ2ε μπκκανογ24 α4τ0ογ 2ν ογ
 ογ2ι α4αμογ αν 2ν ογ ογ2ι "ανακ σε
 τ2ατσο εν ανινεγη τ2ας μπολις εγ0γ2
 η2ητς π2ι 2ο2ο αμνςτνας π2τβ2
 πρωμε ν2' ετε μπογςογων τογ2γνεμ
 22δε τογςβιρ ηταγ μ2 ητβνεογε
 εν2ωωγ .

THE ACHMIMIC (3:8b-4:10)

TRANSLATION

Chapter 3

8) . . . each one away from his way of evil and the evil which [is] in their hands, and said,

9) Who may know that he may repent, namely God, he may turn himself from his anger and his wrath and we shall not die.

10) And God saw their works, that they turned from their ways of evil; and he repented himself, namely God, upon the evil which he had . . .

Chapter 4

2) . . . O Lord, [was] not this my saying when I was in my country? Because [of] this I hastened to flee downward to Tarsis, because I knew that you [are] one compassionate of heart and you [are] one pitiful of heart; you [are] one slow of heart (long-suffering); many [are] your mercies and you give your heart upon evil.

3) So now, O Lord, take my life from my hand because good [is] it for me to die more than to live.

4) And the Lord said to Jonah, Are you grieved of heart greatly?

5) And Jonah went out from the city [and] he sat before (upon the front of) the city, and he made for himself a

dwelling place there, a booth. He sat under it; he received the shade until he would see what would befall the city.

6) And the Lord commanded a gourd and it came up over the head of Jonah to overshadow his head from his trouble. He rejoiced, namely Jonah with a great rejoicing over the gourd.

7) And God commanded a worm in the morning . . .

8) It came to pass when the sun arose that God commanded a wind of scorching heat, and it burned, [and] the sun struck the head of Jonah. He fainted in heart [and] he despaired; he said, Good [is] it for me to die more than to live.

9) And the Lord God said to Jonah, Are you grieved in heart over the gourd? And he said, I am grieved in heart greatly, even to death.

10) The Lord said unto him, You have been pitiful of heart over the gourd, the which you have not suffered toil over it nor you did not rear it; it came up in a night, it died in a night.

11) Therefore, shall I not spare Nineveh the great city, which dwell in it, namely more than 120,000 people which do not know their right hand nor their left hand, and many beasts?

2. аоу асцхлал пѳі їѡнас азрні апхаеис пчпотте еспнтг млкнтос.
3. есхоу ммас же аїашбап абал зп таѡлгѷс азрні апхаеис па [рпс] потте асѡтме араї аїѡш абал еспнтг нампте аоу аксѡтме апазрау.
4. актекст азрні апшжх мпфит пѡаласса аоу ппервоу кѡте араг. пекрпѡѡзе тироу. мп пекрмаїе ател азрні ажѡї.
5. апак рѡтт аїхоос же ат... абал кар ппекро ара фпаѡѡз атоот асѡпт апекрпеїе етѡтаабє.
6. арємаау жѡте мѳ шѡ таѷѡухя аппѡтн прѡє кѡте араї ѡтелѡс асѣѡте атаапе.
7. аїѡш азрні апѡѡш [рпз] пктѡтеїе азрні аткад єппємоухлѡс езраї !.....

(Les versets 8, 9 et 10 sont complètement indéchiffrables.) Ces versets occupent la fin de la page 184.

11. [pne] доу аґотарсаґне млкнтос аґтте їѡнас аґриї ахп петшотѡу.
- III. 1. доу пшехе млжаеіс аґрѡне ша їѡнас млмєрсанспау еґѡу ммас
2. же їѡнас тѡне маґе аґриї аплнетн тпаѳ мполіс доу.....
3. доу аґтѡне пѳї їѡнас аґмаґе аґриї аплнетн пнетн ґе пе отпаѳ мполіс сте мл[pnc]жаеіс еспаѳ отро прапт прооте пмааґе.
4. доу аґжѡпт пѳї їѡнас аѳѡк аґотн атполіс потрооте пмааґе доу аґкиртсе еґѡу ммас же етн не ґамт прооте пепетн сенатекас.
5. доу прѡме ппнетн атпстете аптоте аткиртсе потпнста атґ ґѡоте прєп-
батоґне жп ппотпаѳ ша поткоти.
6. доу пшехе аґпѡз ша прро ппнетн доу аґтѡне аѳал ґїхм пѳѳропос аґкаґу [pnc] аґноу птґстоли аґѳаалеу потѳатне аґрмест ґїхп открие.
7. доу атґкиртсе ппнетн аѳал ґїтооту епрро мл пєґметістапос потшехе еґѡу ммас же прѡме мл птѳпете доу пєґ.. мл пєсау лате отґе мау отґе праї мау.
8. доу атѳаалете прєпѳатне пѳї прѡме мл птѳпете доу атґпестете атѡш аѳал млша аґриї алжаеіс доу аґктау пѳї поте [pnc] поте аѳал ґп тґро ѳѳау мл тґаґа еґґк потѳїх доу паґеу.
9. же пм петсаґне же ґпаґґтнґ пѳї ппоте ґпате аѳал птґортн.....
10. *Ce verset est illisible.*
- IV. 1. доу аґрлѡпє пѳе їѡнас ґп отпаѳ плѡтн.
2. доу аґ аґри алжаеіс.....

եծօղ թառ օտօջ իժօոկ օտ եծօղծեռ ձս իժարձ
 իժօոկ օտօջ եծօղծեռ ձս իժաօս.

9. օտօջ քեռս քաօտ չե ձոկ օտճոկ իժե քօ
 ձոկ օտօջ քօ փ իժե տփե քեքերջօժ ճէտեք-
 ջն փնէտսթառնիծ ձփօռ քեռ քեքօտաօտ.

10. օտօջ սքերջօժ իժե քրառն ճեռ օտքսյժ
 իժօժ օտօջ քեքաօտ քս չե օտ քե ետէսէս չե
 օտնի սքեռն իժե քրառն չե սքփա եծօղծէտ-
 ջն ձքո ձքօ չե սքտառաօտ.

11. օտօջ քեքաօտ քս չե օտ քե ետեքքսէս
 քոկ օտօջ իժե փօռ ջրօտր եծօղ ջարօն չե օտնի
 քարե փօռ աս եծօղ քե օտօջ քսքքեքս իժօտօ
 իժօտքսյժ իժառն.

12. օտօջ քեռս քաօտ իժե իառն չե ձլիտ
 ջիտտ եփօռ օտօջ եքճրօտր իժե փօռ եծօղ
 ջարաքեռ չե օտնի ձեռն ձոկ չե եծնիտ քս
 քսյժ իժառն իժեք օտքօտ.

13. օտօջ քստ ձառաօտ իժօոկ իժե քրառն
 եօրօտտէօ եքիէջի օտօջ քստքեռնաօռ ձք
 քե օտօջ օտքսյժ իժօոտ քսքքեքս իժօտօ ճրնի
 եքաօտ.

14. օտօջ սքաս եքսա ջս քօ օտօջ քեքաօտ
 չե ձփառ քօ ձքքքքքքքէսէս եծե տփքչն իժե
 քս քառն օտօջ ձքքքք իժօոքս իժառն ճրնի
 եքառ չե իժօոկ քե քօ ձփքիժ ետէսօտաս ձկր.

15. օտօջ սքնի իառն սքիտք եփօռ օտօջ
 սքճի իժե փօռ եծօղծեռ քքքիռ.

16. օտօջ սքերջօժ իժե քրառն ճէտջն ձքօ
 ճեռ օտքսյժ իժօժ օտօջ սքափ իժօտքօտքա-
 օտքս ձքօ օտօջ սքաս իժսքքչն.

քեփ. Է.

1. օտօջ սքօտէքսէքն իժե քօ իժօտքսյժ իք-
 տօս եօքքքառն իառն օտօջ քարե իառն ճեռ
 օքքի ձքիքտօս իժ իժօօտ քեռ ք իժեքառ.

2. օտօջ ագերփրօսեդիսեսօ և՛իւ Եւսքա ջա քօ՛ւ
քեզքո՛ւք Եւթօլճեք օքեքի Էպիկտոս օտօջ քե-
ռազ.

3. Էւսք Եւթօլ ճեք քաջօքք օքեք քօ՛ւ քա-
քո՛ւք օտօջ ագիւսքա Եւթօլ Եւթօլճեք օքեքի և՛-
Էքքքք ագիւսքա Եւթաքք.

4. Էքքքքք Եւքքք և՛քք քքք և՛քք քքք և՛քք քքք
օտօջ աքքք Եւթօլ և՛քք քքքքքքք քքքքքք
քքքք քքք քքքք և՛ք Եւքք Եւք.

5. օտօջ Էքք Էքք քք և՛քքք Էքքք և՛քքք
Էքք քքք քքքքքք քքք Էքքքքքք Եւք քե-
քքքք Եւթօլ.

6. ագիւսք Եւքք Եւք և՛քք օքքքք քք քա-
քքքք ագիւսքք և՛քք օքքքք և՛քք Էքքքք և՛քք
քաքքք.

7. ճեք քքքքք և՛քք քքքքք Էքքքք Եւ-
քք Եւքքքք քքքքք քքքքքք Էքքքքք Եւք
օտօջ Էքքքք Եւքք և՛քք քքքք և՛քք քքքք
քօ՛ւ քքքքք.

8. ճեք քքքքքքքքք և՛քք քքքքք Եւթօլ
քքքք Էքքքքքք Էքքք Էքքքքքքք և՛քք Էքքքք
քքքքքք Եւքք քքքքքքք Եւքքքքք Եւթօլ.

9. քքքքքքք Եւքքքքքքքքք քքք քքքք-
քքքքքքք և՛քքքքք.

10. Էքքք քք ճեք օքքքք և՛քք օքքքքք քքք
օքքքքք Եւթօլ քքքքքք քքք քքքքքքք Էքքք-
քք քքքքքքքքք քքք քօ՛ւ և՛քք քքքքք.

11. օտօջ ագիւսքքքքք Էպիկտոս ագիւսք և՛-
Եւք Եւքքքքքքք.

քքք. ք.

1. օտօջ Է օքքքք և՛քք քօ՛ւ քքքք քա Եւքա
քքքք քք քքքք Էքքք.

2. քք քքքք Էքքքքքք Եւքք Եւքքքք քքքքք

ձեռքի ոտը ջլայս իճիտս կաճա ջլայս իճե
 Կորն ֆիէճալսախ ձեռնոյ քառակ ձոք.

3. ոտը ճշքեմազ էմիքնի կաճափրի՛ էճազ-
 սախ քառազ իճե թո՛ւ քիքն ճե քե օրնիս
 ձեռքի իճե փ՛ թե քա՛ ֆօրայս իօրնայտ ձե-
 քայս իճ իճօրոս.

4. ոտը ճշքիտս իճե քառա էքս ճօրն է՛-
 ձեռքի քա՛ ֆօրայս իօրնայտ ձեռնայս իճե օ-
 ճօրոս իօրնայտ ոտը քաճալայս ոտը քաճա չե
 է՛ թե կե՛ իճօրոս քիքն ճեմօրոս.

5. ոտը ճքաճա՛ էփ՛ իճե քառայս իճե քիքն
 ոտը ճքայս իօրնայտ ոտը ճքայտ
 իճաքօք քիքն քառայս ճա քառայս.

6. ոտը ճքօր իճե քառայս ճա քառայս իճե քի-
 քն ոտը ճքայս էփօրն քառայս ոտը
 ճքայս իճեքօրն էփօր ճալայս ոտը ճքօրն
 իօրնայտ ճքօրն էփօրն էփօրն.

7. ոտը ճքայս ոտը ճքօր ճքն քիքն
 էփօրն էփօրն քառայս էփօրն էփօրն
 էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն
 էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն.

8. ոտը ճքօրն իճաքօք իճե քառայս էփօրն
 էփօրն ոտը ճքայս էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն
 էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն
 էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն.

9. չե քառայս էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն
 էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն
 էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն.

10. ոտը ճքօրն իճե փ՛ էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն
 էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն
 էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն էփօրն.

кеф. 2.

1. օտօջ ագերաձեւոյ իւրա իւր օտարացի
նաւագոյ իջնէ.

2. օտօջ ագերոստիչեթե քնայ ջա թօ օտ-
օջ քեւագիւ օ թօ ջն թա ձ թ քաւա ի իւր
եւ ի իւր քաւոյ եթե քա ձերպօրք ձքօտ
թօթօթ քե օտ ձա ձեւ ի ք թօթ օտարն օտօջ
նրեպքն իջնէ օտօջ թաք քեւա ի օտօջ եւթօթ-
նրօթն եւթ թաւա ձ.

3. օտօջ իւր քաւն թ իւրա իւր եւթ ձ-
թօ ի քաւն թ ձեւ օտ ձեւ օտ ձեւ օտ ձեւ.

4. օտօջ քեւ ք թ իւրա ի քաւա ի քաւա ձեւ
նրն թօթ եւթ.

5. օտօջ ագ ձեւ իւր իւրա օտօջ
ագթօթ ձեւ քաւ թ իւրա օտօջ ագթօթ թա
նրօթն ձեւ քա ձեւ օտօջ թաթթթ թաթթթ
թաթթ ձեւ օտ ձեւ թաթթթ թաթթթ թաթթթ թաթթթ
օտ թաթթթ թաթթթ.

6. օտօջ ագթօթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ
նրօթ օտօջ ագ թաթթ եւթ թաթթ օտօջ
թաթթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ
թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ օտօջ
ագթթ թաթթ եւթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ
օտ թաթթ թաթթ.

7. օտօջ ագթօթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ
թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ օտօջ ագթթ թաթթ
թաթթ թաթթ օտօջ ագթթ.

8. օտօջ ագթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ
ագթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ
օտօջ ագթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ օտօջ
ագթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ
թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ թաթթ.

9. օտօջ քեւ ք թ իւրա ի քաւա ի քաւա ձեւ
նրն թօթ եւթ թաթթ թաթթ.

10. οτορ πεχε π $\overline{\sigma\tau}$ χε ð θ οκ ακ $\overline{\tau}$ λ $\overline{\sigma}$ ο έχεπ πι-
 ρεπ $\overline{\tau}$ ð σ λο $\overline{\tau}$ φαι έτε λ $\overline{\alpha}$ πεκ $\overline{\psi}$ επ $\overline{\zeta}$ ι $\overline{\sigma}$ ι έχω $\overline{\psi}$ οτορ
 λ $\overline{\alpha}$ πεκ $\overline{\psi}$ λ $\overline{\mu}$ ο $\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\psi}$ φαι έτα $\overline{\psi}$ ωπ $\overline{\iota}$ ζεπ ο $\overline{\tau}$ έ $\overline{\chi}$ ωρ $\overline{\zeta}$
 οτορ α $\overline{\psi}$ τα $\overline{\kappa}$ ο ζεπ ο $\overline{\tau}$ έ $\overline{\chi}$ ωρ $\overline{\zeta}$.

11. λ $\overline{\mu}$ οκ λ $\overline{\epsilon}$ ð $\overline{\tau}$ πα $\overline{\tau}$ λ $\overline{\sigma}$ ο απ έχεπ πιπε $\overline{\tau}$ η $\overline{\iota}$ $\overline{\tau}$ -
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 πα $\overline{\lambda}$ ο $\overline{\tau}$ λ $\overline{\epsilon}$ το $\overline{\tau}$ χ $\overline{\alpha}$ β $\overline{\eta}$ πε $\overline{\lambda}$ ρ $\overline{\alpha}$ π $\overline{\kappa}$ ε $\overline{\tau}$ ε $\overline{\beta}$ η $\overline{\omega}$ ο $\overline{\iota}$
 ε $\overline{\tau}$ ο $\overline{\psi}$.

THE BOHAIRIC

TRANSLATION

Chapter 1

- 1) And the word of the Lord came unto Jonah, the son of Amathi, saying,
- 2) Arise and go unto Nineveh [the] city and proclaim upward to it, for it has been brought up before me, namely the cry of its wickedness.
- 3) And he arose, namely Jonah, to flee to Tarsis from the face of the Lord, and he went down to Joppa, and he found a ship setting sail to Tarsis; and he paid fare and went in into it to sail with them to Tarsis, away from the face of the Lord.
- 4) And the Lord raised a great wind upon the sea and it was a mighty wave in the sea, and it was in danger, namely the ship, to loosen apart.
- 5) And they were afraid, namely the sailors, and each one cried up unto his god, and they cast the equipment which was in the ship into the sea, to lighten [it] unto them. But Jonah had gone down to the hold (hollow place) of the ship and was asleep and snoring.
- 6) And he came unto him, namely the fore-sailor of the ship, and said unto him, Why [are] you snoring? Arise, entreat your god. Perhaps he shall give a thought to us and we shall not perish.

7) And each man said to his companion, Come, let us cast lots that we may know because of whom this evil is upon us. And they cast lots, and it fell, namely the lot, upon Jonah.

8) Then they said unto him, Because of what is this evil upon you? and what is your occupation? and you have come forth whence? and out from what people?

9) And he said unto them, I [am] a servant of the Lord and the Lord God of the heaven I fear, who made the sea and the dry [land].

10) Then they feared, namely the men, with a great fear, and they said to him, What is that which you have done? for they knew, namely the men, that he was fleeing away from the face of the Lord, for he had told them.

11) Then they said unto him, What is that which we shall do unto you in order for the sea to cease for us; for indeed the sea cried out and arose greatly, a great wave.

12) And he said unto them, namely Jonah, Take me [and] cast me into the sea and it shall cease, namely the sea; for indeed I know that because of me [is] this great wave upon you.

13) But they used violence (took to themselves violence), namely the men, to cause to return to the shore, but they did not have power, for a great wind was rising greatly up upon them.

14) And they cried upward unto the Lord saying, Do not, O Lord, do not let us perish because of the life of this man,

and do not bring righteous blood up upon us; for you, O Lord, in the manner which you have desired, you have done.

15) And they took Jonah [and] they cast him into the sea and it paused, namely the sea, from moving.

16) And they feared, namely the men, before the Lord, with a great fear, and they slayed a sacrifice to the Lord and they cried vows.

Chapter 2

1) And he commanded, namely the Lord, a great fish to eat Jonah, and Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights.

2) And he prayed, namely Jonah, unto the Lord his God, out from the belly of the fish, and he said,

3) I cried out from my distress unto the Lord my God and he heard me; out from the belly of hades you heard my voice.

4) You have cast me into the depth of the heart of the sea, and they encompassed me, namely the streams; billows, all of them, and your waves came up upon me.

5) And I said, They have cast me outwards from your sight (eye); yet I will again look upon your holy temple.

6) It poured forth upon me, namely water, unto my soul; it covered me, namely the last abyss; it sank, namely my head.

7) Into the clefts of the mountains I have gone down, to the earth whose bars are made fast forever; yet, let come up, namely the perdition of my life, my Lord, my God.

- 8) When it fainted, namely my soul, within me, I remembered the mercy of the Lord. Let come, namely my prayer, upward to you, to your holy temple.
- 9) They who keep vanities and lies, they have renounced their mercy.
- 10) But I with a voice of prayer and confession, I will sacrifice to you, O Lord of my salvation.
- 11) And he commanded the fish [and] it cast Jonah onto the dry [land].

Chapter 3

- 1) And the word of the Lord came upon Jonah a second time, saying,
- 2) Arise, go unto Nineveh the great city, and proclaim in it according to the proclamation as formerly I spoke unto you.
- 3) And he went unto Nineveh according as he spoke unto him, namely the Lord. Now Nineveh was a great city of God, being about a distance of a road of walking of three days.
- 4) And he began, namely Jonah, to go in to the city, about a distance of a road of one day, and he proclaimed and said, Yet another three days [and] Nineveh will be destroyed (broken).
- 5) And they believed in God, namely the people of Nineveh, and they proclaimed a fast and they put upon themselves sackcloth, from the small to the great.
- 6) And it reached, namely the word, to the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne and put his garment from himself and he covered himself with sackcloth [and] he sat

upon ashes (fire).

7) And he proclaimed and commanded (said) in Nineveh from the king and from his great [ones], saying, Men and beasts and sheep, let them not take taste of anything, nor let them feed, nor let them drink water.

8) And they girded themselves in sackcloth, namely the people and the beasts, and they cried out unto the Lord God greatly, and each one of them turned from (rejected) their way of evil and from the using of violence which [was] in their hands, saying,

9) Who shall know that he may repent, namely God, and may turn from the wrath of his wrath and we shall not perish.

10) And he saw, namely God, their works, that they turned from their way of evil, and he repented, namely God, upon the evil which he had said to do to them.

Chapter 4

1) And he was grieved, namely Jonah, a great grief in heart.

2) And he prayed upward unto the Lord and said, O Lord, [was] not this my saying when I was in my country? Because of this I hastened to flee to Tarsis, because I knew that you [are] one compassionate of heart and pitiful of heart and many are your mercies and you give your heart upon evils.

3) And now, my Master, take my life from me, for good [is] it to me to die more than to live.

4) And the Lord said unto Jonah, are you grieved of heart greatly?

5) And he went out from the city, namely Jonah, and he sat before the city, and he built for himself a booth, a dwelling place there, and he sat under it in the shade until he would see that which would befall the city.

6) And he commanded, namely the Lord God, a gourd, and it came up over the head of Jonah that it might be a shade above his head to shade him from all his distress; and he rejoiced, namely Jonah, upon the gourd with a great rejoicing.

7) And he commanded, namely the Lord God, a worm, in the morning, early, or his morrow, and it smote the gourd and it dried.

8) And it came to pass when it arose to shine, namely the sun, he commanded, namely God, a wind of scorching heat; it burned and it struck, namely the sun, upon the head of Jonah; and he fainted in heart, and he renounced his life and said, Good [is] it for me to die more than to live.

9) And the Lord God said unto Jonah, are you grieved in heart greatly, even unto death?

10) And the Lord said, You have spared the gourd, this which you have not suffered toil upon it, and did not rear it, this which became in a night and perished in a night.

11) Therefore, shall I not spare Nineveh the great city, which are in it, namely more than 120,000 people, who do not know their right hand nor their left hand and many cattle?

